

by Philip Yancey

this is a page
from yancey's latest
book which
brought back
some relief for
dell & dale - i
thought you
might like it!

Somewhat
exaggerated - but
based on fact -
S.H.M.

By the laws of Roman justice, he had the right to throw the colleague into prison. Jesus did not dispute the servant's personal loss but, rather, set that loss against a master [God] who had already forgiven the servant several million dollars. Only the experience of being forgiven makes it possible for us to forgive.

I had a friend (now dead) who worked on the staff of Wheaton College for many years, during the course of which he heard several thousand chapel messages. In time most of these faded into a forgettable blur, but a few stood out. In particular he loved retelling the story of Sam Moffat, a professor at Princeton Seminary who had served as a missionary in China. Moffat told the Wheaton students a gripping tale of his flight from Communist pursuers. They seized his house and all his possessions, burned the missionary compound, and killed some of his closest friends. Moffat's own family barely escaped. When he left China, Moffat took with him a deep resentment against the followers of Chairman Mao, a resentment that metastasized inside him. Finally, he told the Wheaton students, he faced a singular crisis of faith. "I realized," said Moffat, "that if I have no forgiveness for the Communists, then I have no message at all."

The gospel of grace begins and ends with forgiveness. And people write songs with titles like "Amazing Grace" for one reason: grace is the only force in the universe powerful enough to break the chains that enslave generations. Grace alone melts ungrace.

One weekend I sat with ten Jews, ten Christians, and ten Muslims in a kind of encounter group led by author and psychiatrist M. Scott Peck, who hoped the weekend might lead to some sort of community, or at least the beginnings of reconciliation on a small scale. It did not. Fistfights almost broke out among these educated, sophisticated people. The Jews talked about all the horrible things done to them by Christians. The Muslims talked about all the horrible things done to them by Jews. We Christians tried to talk about our own problems, but they paled in contrast to stories of the Holocaust and the plight of Palestinian

refugees, and so many two groups recount

At one point at prior attempts at reconciliation, said, "I believe we forgiveness. I see no seems so unfair, to for justice."

I thought back to Helmut Thielicke,

This business We say, "Very well, don, I will forgive a law of reciprocity say to ourselves. And then I want will flash a sign some small hint he is sorry. I am forgive. I am fa

The only remedy had forgiven his sin parable of the unforgiving servant, *taking the initiative* move, Thielicke on fairness. He did this heart of the gospel

At the center of initiative toward unforgiveness, a landlord who canceled an employer who paid a crew, a banquet given of undeserving guests

What's so amazing about grace?

1998

(Continued on Back Flap)

We glimpse the founding in India of Christian churches that endure to this day, communities in the empire of Genghis Khan, missions to China as early as the 7th century and even some hints of Christian presence in distant Korea, Japan and southeast Asia.

The places and time periods covered here are vast and daunting, but Moffett's presentation, though encyclopedic and detailed, enables readers to delve selectively into sections of that long history. Consider, for instance, what we learn about Nestorian Christians. Nestorius (d. 451) is known to many mainly as a heretic who failed to affirm the unity of one person, divine and human, in Christ. Moffett rehearses for us the tumultuous politics and intrigues that led to the condemnation of Nestorius and summarizes for us information (uncovered in the 19th century) that has encouraged some theologians to rehabilitate Nestorius as a theologian within the boundaries of orthodoxy. Moffett implicitly strengthens the case for Nestorius's rehabilitation by highlighting the vigor of Nestorian communities throughout Asia, from Persia to China. The condemnation of Nestorius's teachings in 431 was only an early moment in a promising history of Nestorian Christianity—a history essential to our understanding of Christianity in pre-modern Asia, where the Nestorian connection surfaces frequently and unexpectedly.

Pope Innocent IV, for example, sent several missions to the Mongol princes of central Asia in hopes of converting them and keeping them out of Europe. In 1245 he sent John of Plano Carpini (a disciple of Francis of Assisi), who eventually obtained an audience with Kuyuk, grandson of Genghis Khan. Although their conversation did not lead to the Khan's conversion, Kuyuk did send a return letter to the Pope, asserting his own authority and challenging the Pope to explain how he knew that his religion was the only true one.

The Pope apparently did not rise to this challenge, but in 1253 he sent another missionary ambassador, William of Rubruck, who met with Kuyuk's successor, Mongke. William engaged in a formal debate with Buddhist monks and Nestorians—and Manichaeans and Muslims—all of whom William handily defeated. After that William (by his own account) returned to Europe, while the Nestorians remained behind, evidently comfortable in their Asian home.

By the time Matteo Ricci and his Jesuit companions set up their mission in China in the late 16th century, the old Nestorian com-

munity had already died out, but in 1623 workmen dug up an eighth-century monument that commemorated the arrival of Nestorians in the Chinese capital in 635. This massive tablet recounts the presentation by Nestorians of Christian teachings in Chinese terms—almost a millennium before the Jesuits began their similarly novel project by immersing themselves in the Chinese language and culture.

Moffett's book is filled with data to undergird many such fresh perspectives on Chris-

tianity in Asia; it merits close reading as the year 2000 approaches and as we remember the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gama's arrival in western India "seeking Christians and spices."

And what will the next millennium bring? Moffett himself ends on a somewhat gloomy note, with chapters entitled "The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia" and "The Church in the Shadows." He points to several factors (such as political intrigue, persecution and the rise and fall of empires) that limited the endur-



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*'Too many words....
Let them just see what we do'*

— Mother Teresa of Calcutta

**A History of
Christianity in Asia:****Volume I:
Beginnings to 1500**

By Samuel Hugh Moffett
Orbis Books. 560p \$25 (paper)

On April 19, 1998, Pope John Paul II presided at the opening eucharistic liturgy for the Special Assembly for Asia of the Synod of Bishops, one in a series of special gatherings of bishops in preparation for the millennium. In his homily he recalled that St. Thomas the Apostle first brought Christianity to Asia and charted the church's movement eastward across this vast continent, where more than three-fifths of the world's population now live. The Pope urged the assembled church leaders to find new vigor for the proclamation of Christ in Asia: "Ours is the task of writing new chapters of

Christian witness in every part of the world, and in Asia: from India to Indonesia, from Japan to Lebanon, from Korea to Kazakhstan, from Vietnam to the Philippines, from Siberia to China.... We want to listen to what the Spirit says to the churches, so that they may proclaim Christ in the context of Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism and all those currents of thought and life which were already rooted in Asia before the preaching of the Gospel arrived." Subsequent synod discussions introduced realistic and hopeful views on the church in Asia today.

Asia is, of course, a vast continent blessed with diverse cultures, as Samuel H. Moffett, the Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics

and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary, convincingly reminds us in this impressive volume. It is also the home of very ancient civilizations. Christianity has had a long history in Asia, beginning from its birth in West Asia. Moffett's text begins with the probable travels of Thomas the Apostle

to India and ends with the arrival of Western Europeans in India by sea in 1498 (opening a new era, to be treated in Volume II). We learn about the growth of Christian communities in the East, the establishment of vibrant churches in Syria and Persia and the dramatic (and traumatic) changes that took place in such communities with the rise of Islam, as well as the centuries of interaction with Muslims.

THIS WEEK'S REVIEWERS

Francis X. Clooney, S.J., is professor of comparative theology at Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.

Patricia L. Skarda is associate professor of English at Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

James P. Hanigan is professor of moral theology at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.

ance of churches in Asia. He believes that conflicts within Christian communities and their compromises for the sake of survival severely diminished their vitality. If only Christians had overcome their ethnic and social differences and stood firm in the message of the Gospel, he suggests, perhaps Asia would have become Christian a long time ago.

One enduring lesson, certainly, is that we should not try to repeat the past. The era covered in this volume is finished, as is the age when Western Christianity traveled to Asia with the colonial powers. Local churches and indigenous Christian communities are now flourishing again in most Asian countries, and as both the recent synod and World Council of Churches meetings suggest, these communities have their own voices and are increasingly willing to raise them. So too, many people today are developing new attitudes toward religion. The dialogue of Asian Christians with their Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim and Confucian brothers and sisters will be a distinctive feature of this renewed presence of Christianity in Asia. Once the rest of us have been fully drawn into this dialogue, Asia might well

become again a primary wellspring of global Christian identity.

FRANCIS X. CLOONEY

The Brontës: A Life in Letters

By Juliet Barker
The Overlook Press. 402p \$35

Self-portraits rarely tell the whole truth, but this largely autobiographical portrait of the Brontë family reveals intimate truths about the undaunted faith of this remarkable literary family. Readers of Juliet Barker's 1995 landmark study, *The Brontës*, will marvel at this new compendium of letters, diaries, reminiscences, contemporary accounts and reviews of publications, loosely integrated by judicious narrative into a family portrait told almost wholly by the subjects themselves. Gone are the meticulous descriptions of houses and scenery, dress and hairstyles, furniture and routines. Correspondents are briefly described in a terse appendix, and a spare introductory chronology alone lodges the powerful material in a fitting context. Gone are the excesses of the long-lived father, the Rev. Patrick Brontë, and those of the disappointed and disappointing son, Patrick Branwell (called "Branwell"). Gone, too, are historical analyses and defenses of mythologizing efforts of earlier biographers and recent feminist critics.

What remains are self-drawn portraits of poignant lives, riddled with tragic losses and punctuated by literary successes. The mother of the extraordinary six Brontë children died at 38 from cancer in 1821, followed in 1825 by her eldest daughter Maria at age 11 and by the second, Elizabeth, at age 10. Charlotte, Branwell, Emily and Anne responded by making their own "little society" in Haworth Parsonage, where they acted their plays, read avidly and wrote tales and poems to entertain and educate themselves, until they were ready to entertain and educate others as governesses, teachers and writers. But before they published a collection of verse in 1846, their Aunt Elizabeth Branwell, their father's curate and their school friend, Martha Taylor, died. Small wonder that Charlotte wrote repeatedly of "low spirits," "lethargy of the faculties," admitting that "something in me which used to be enthusiasm is tamed down and broken."

While Branwell floundered, failing as a tutor and as an employee of the railway and

drowning his sorrows with drink, the surviving Brontë girls busied themselves by teaching, trying to start a school and then by writing as Currer, Ellis and Acton Bell. Neither their father nor brother were aware of the venture to publish their poems, which were barely noticed by the reviewers. Undaunted, Charlotte, Emily and Anne devoted themselves to writing *The Professor*, *Wuthering Heights* and *Agnes Grey* respectively. While nursing her father after cataract surgery, Charlotte began *Jane Eyre* and published to instant success just before her sister's novels came out in 1847. Anne continued work on *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848) while Charlotte's *Shirley* took shape for publication in 1849.

But tragedy mocked their success as authors. After Branwell died of tuberculosis in 1848 at age 31, Charlotte wrote sensitively of her grief: "I do not weep from a sense of bereavement—there is no prop withdrawn, no consolation torn away, no dear companion lost—but for the wreck of talent, the ruin of promise, the untimely dreary extinction of what might have been a burning and a shining light." Branwell's death revealed to her "the feebleness of humanity...the inadequacy of even genius to lead to true greatness if unaided by religion and principle." Emily soon followed Branwell, dying of "galloping consumption...proudly endured." Charlotte announced Emily's death to Ellen Nussey, her constant correspondent: "Emily suffers no more either from pain or weakness now.... We are very calm at present.... [W]e feel she is at peace—no need to tremble for the hard frost and keen wind—Emily does not feel them. She has died in a time of promise—we saw her taken from life in its prime—but it is God's will and the place where she is gone is better than that she has left."

While still mourning one sister, Charlotte and Branwell learned that Anne's death from tuberculosis was imminent. The record of her last days wrenched their hearts but enlivened their souls. She died at Scarborough, as Ellen Nussey remembers, "looking so serene & reliant.... She clasped her hands & reverently invoked a blessing from Heaven first upon her sister then upon her friend & thanked each for their kindness & attentions." When asked if she would feel more comfortable on the sofa, Anne said, "It is not *you* who can give me ease but soon all will be well through the merits of my Redeemer.... Take courage Charlotte! Take courage."

Recovery from repeated loss may seem

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE.....	65
EDITORIAL.....	66
GUEST EDITORIAL.....	68
ARTICLES	
Ministry at the Fringes: The Missionary as the Marginal Person Henry Rowold.....	70
The Missionary Role in the Formation of the Lutheran Church in Korea: With an Eye to the "Indigenous Church" Maynard Dorow.....	77
Some Missionary Moments I Remember Shirley A. Dorow.....	85
Missionaries Walking Together with Indigenous Churches: From Jerusalem to Antioch Karl Reko.....	91
Expatriate Missionaries Today Eugene Bunkowske.....	101
MISSION OBSERVER	
What is Really Lutheran About the Lutherans?.....	111
Japan Lutheran Church Celebrates 50 th Anniversary.....	113
BOOK REVIEWS.....	115

semiannually

Thank Bill Barron for sending this
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the students and researchers on Japan Mission. Chapters VII: "Through the storm—Tensions" (27-33) and XI: "The NRK and Other Churches" (53-64) seem to be specially worth noting. Some of the issues and problems are similar with other parts in world mission.

I strongly recommend the readers to get a copy of this meaningful study, read, learn some new insights, and get much valuable information.

Won Yong Ji

✓
A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA, VOLUME I. By Samuel Hugh Moffett.
Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. 560 pp. Paperback. \$25.00.

This laborious work can be invaluable for church historians, missiologists and students of the history of Christian thoughts who have serious interest for knowing some detailed accounts of various happenings in the cultural and religious history of "Asian Christianity," that is, outside the Roman Empire in ancient oriental kingdoms east of the Euphrates extending as far as India and China. Since this volume only deals from the beginnings of the Christian era to 1500 A. D., the readers may anticipate the sequels that deal with the modern period.

The author brings us an extensive panorama of Semitic, Persian, Indian, Chinese, Mongol and other people of many gifts with ideas introducing massive materials frequently unfamiliar to ordinary readers. This could be possible with immense amount of research on the religious pluralism of Asia, and how Christianity went forth to the middle eastern kingdoms and Arabic world in general, especially in Persian context, and to further East. Much information by a detailed assessment is often unavailable in the ordinary history books. The writer made the account stimulating with clarity and fairness.

Dr. Samuel Hugh Moffett, a professor emeritus of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary, born in Korea, taught and worked for many years in China and Korea. The Moffetts are one of the distinguished missionary families in Korea.

The Thomas tradition can be the interest of not only Christian writers but also of increasing number of secular historians. The Syrian Christians, or Thomas Christians of Kerala, India, claim that the apostle Thomas arrived in the middle of the first century and converted the people. The story of Thomas Christians extend to modern time with interesting episodes.

As Christianity spreads to the East, it encountered numerous obstacles, from within and without, such as Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism. Among them was also the Nestorian controversy (5th century). This blight of a violent theological conflict divided

the early church, East from West, Asia from Europe. It was the period of the ecumenical councils, from Nicaea to Chalcedon. The former dealt with Arianism's denial of the full deity of Christ; the latter with the question of the relationship of deity and humanity in the nature of Christ. The Nicaea was successful in defeating Arians, whereas Chalcedon was unable to prevent the splintering of Christendom. One crucial point was the denial of theotokos ("mother of God") by Nestorians.

On the right were the Alexandrians, defending the deity of Christ even at the risk of his real humanity, known as Monophysites (claiming "single" divine), led by Cyril as opposed by Dyophysites (those who held that in Christ two natures coexist as expressed by Chalcedon). The complex picture and contrast of Alexandrian and Antiochean Schools are noted in the book along with Nestorianism. Prof. Moffett takes a sympathetic attitude toward Nestorian stance at the time (175-180, 247ff.). "...the orthodox Council of Chalcedon tried to resolve in 451 by compromising formula: 'one person (hypostasis) in two natures (physis),' taking the Monophysite word for 'person' but accepting the Nestorian insistence on two natures" (248).

The story of old Chinese Christianity through Nestorian missionary in China in the 7th century (288ff., 302ff.) is truly interesting with the discovery in 1623 the "Nestorian Tablet" erected in 781 A. D. on the arrival of a Nestorian missionary in the Chinese capital in 635.

The historical account of the Islamic movement, and later the Crusades are intriguingly described from the point of the spread of Christianity, with both negative and positive effects depending upon how one understands them.

The above is merely a part of many historical events in the process of spreading Christianity in Asia, treated in this large volume, as illustrated in the thorough Table of Contents and extensive "Notes." Furthermore, a lengthy Bibliography (519-48), Index, and "Acknowledgements" (p. 559), all these will be helpful for the interested readers and researchers.

Won Yong Ji

PEOPLE ON THE WAY: ASIAN NORTH AMERICANS DISCOVERING CHRIST, CULTURE, AND COMMUNITY. Edited by David Ng. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1996. xxx+300 pp. Paperback. No price given.

That Asians are one of the fastest-growing populations in the United States is no secret. That the Christian church is growing faster among Asian-Americans than among Anglos is also no secret. That, however, assimilation of Asian-Americans into

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KAZUO ENOKI (*)

THE NESTORIAN CHRISTIANISM IN CHINA
IN MEDIAEVAL TIME ACCORDING TO RECENT
HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCHES

The title assigned to me is *Il Cristianesimo nestoriano in Cina nel Medio Evo secondo le recenti ricerche storiche e archeologiche*. However, I would like to tell you about some discoveries and researches concerning not only Nestorianism but also Roman Catholicism in China and Inner Mongolia which have been made since around the time of the outbreak of the World War II. My talk will be divided into three parts:

- (1) Discoveries and Researches of Nestorian and Roman Catholic Sites and Remains in Inner Mongolia.
- (2) Christian and other Religious Remains in Ch'üan-chou (Zaytun) and its neighbourhood.
- (3) Three New Nestorian Documents in Chinese.

Appendix:

Über die nestorianischen Grabinschriften in der Inner Mongolei und in Sud China (by Shichiro Murayama, Tokyo).

Abbreviations

- (1) DISCOVERIES AND RESEARCHES OF NESTORIAN AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SITES AND REMAINS AMONG THE ONGUT IN INNER MONGOLIA

The Ongut were a tribe most faithfully allied with Genghiskan and his descendants throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. It was mainly because of the collaboration of Alaqush Tegin Qori⁽¹⁾, the chief of this tribe, that

(*) Università di Tokyo.

(1) For the name and its orthography of Alaqush Tegin Qori, see P. PELLIOU et L. HAMBIS, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis-khan*, I, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1951, pp. 378-379; MICHIO NAKA, *Jingisukan Jitsuroku*, Tokyo: Dai-Nihon Tosho Kabushiki-kaisha, 1907, pp. 268-269; L. LIGETI, *A mongolok története*, Budapest 1962, pp. 165-166.

ASIA

SAMUEL HUGH MOFFETT. *A History of Christianity in Asia. Volume I, Beginnings to 1500*. New York: HarperCollins. 1992. Pp. xxvi, 560. \$45.00.

The history of Christianity in the lands east of Palestine is a fascinating and complex story that is not well known. Both because of the difficulty of the sources and also because Christianity in these areas faded into insignificance, few have attempted the daunting task of writing a comprehensive history. The last such endeavor was Aziz Atiya's *A History of Eastern Christianity* (1968).

Samuel Hugh Moffett's first volume of a projected multivolume work covers developments up to 1500. These are discussed in three parts: from the Apostles to Muhammad, from Alopen to the Crusades, and from Chinggis Khan to Tamerlane. In most respects this is an excellent text with a highly readable narrative. The author's coverage is both comprehensive and balanced, and his scholarship is impressive. Highlights are apposite quotations from both primary sources and secondary discussions. Five maps, indexes, and an appendix of the text of the famous Nestorian monument inscribed in China in 781 are also included.

Christianity in the East survived under the shadow of the centuries-long conflict between the Roman West and the Persians, who embraced first Zoroastrianism and then Islam. The Church of the East, better known as the Nestorians, succeeded in establishing outposts in India and in China. Moffett admirably clarifies the personal and theological differences among the Byzantine (Melchite), Jacobite (Monophysite), and Nestorian Christians.

In his conclusions (pp. 503–09), Moffett offers some helpful insights into the plight of Christianity in Asia. He suggests that a major cause of difficulties was the failure to translate the Scriptures into Arabic or Chinese. Another factor was the contempt that one Christian sect had for all the others. Despite the fact that the Persian Nestorians who brought Christianity into Asia were themselves Asians, they were nonetheless always considered by the Chinese to be "foreign" Asians.

Moffett, who was born in Korea and has taught in China, demonstrates a marked empathy for an Asia-centric view in accepting the traditions, which ascribe the early establishment of the church in Syria to Addai (pp. 50–51), and the church in India to Thomas (pp. 35–36, 39). In these issues he wants to err on the side of qualified acceptance rather than skepticism. In support of the Indian tradition, Moffett cites (p. 40, n. 4) the fact that, "The Thomas tradition is accepted by almost all Indian Christian writers and by an increasing number of secular historians as well." He fails to consider that some of the secular historians whom he quotes may be influenced by nationalistic biases.

Some readers may disagree about the depth of

coverage on subjects that may be dear to their hearts. Armenia, a buffer state, which became one of the first kingdoms to embrace Christianity, is given rather short shrift as an area that eventually came under Byzantine orbit (pp. 8–9). But certainly in the late Roman empire Armenia was very much under Persian (Parthian) influence. The author does not do justice to Christianity among the Arabs before Muhammad, nor does he refer to Irfan Shahid's important monographs on the subject.

Moffett's treatment of the rival Manichaean movement is rather unsatisfactory. He does not mention the Cologne Codex of Mani's life or the researches of Werner Sundermann on the important Turfan documents. Although he cites a 1979 work by Samuel N. C. Lieu, he fails to note the latter's important study, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (1985). He does not consider the possibility that among the groups persecuted by Kartir (p. 109) were the Mandaean. In his brief references to the Maronites, the most important Christian community in Lebanon, Moffett neglects to mention their service to the Crusaders.

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

BRIAN E. MCKNIGHT. *Law and Order in Sung China*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 557. \$74.95.

In his detailed exploration of law enforcement and penal policy during China's Sung dynasty (960–1279), Brian E. McKnight pursues two desirable yet redoubtable goals, either one of which might well have warranted a volume in itself. The first goal is to describe how these related institutional phenomena changed (or did not change) over the course of the Sung. The second (and markedly more demanding) goal is "to reveal their ideological foundations and the interactions of these ideological factors with political, social, and economic conditions in determining the shape and functioning of these systems" (p. xii). McKnight's study, to a remarkably satisfying degree, impressively achieves both of these daunting objectives.

McKnight argues that law enforcement in traditional China is best understood as having been a dimension of social control. He brings forward a compelling array of preliminary analyses in support of this assertion, ranging from longstanding Chinese philosophical assumptions about order to the pivotal importance of the emperor as the exemplar of order to the role of law as order's last line of defense. McKnight tacitly indicates that whereas certain traditional ideas about law enforcement have predictably Legalist underpinnings (that is, suppression), many others (persuasion, prevention, and cooptation, for

Genghiskhan could conquer the Naiman, who were one of his strongest enemies in Mongolia, and pave his way for the unification of the whole of Mongolia and Central Asia.⁽¹⁾ Genghiskhan appreciated so much the cooperation of the Ongut that he promised to make it a rule to get royal princesses of the Mongols married to the descendants of Alaquish Tegin Qori, which seems to have been faithfully observed up to the end of the Mongol dynasty.⁽²⁾

The Ongut were also known as followers of Christianity. Marco Polo states that their king George was of the lineage of Prester John and that the rule of the country was in the hands of the Christians, though there were also plenty of idolaters and Mohammedans.⁽³⁾ According to the *History of Yaballaha III* of an unknown author, Yaballaha III (1281-1317) was born in Koshang, the capital of the Ongut country, where his father was serving to the Nestorian church as an Archdeacon; Yaballaha III was trained under Rabban Summa in Khan-baliq (Khan-baliq) or what is now Peking. Rabban Summa and Yaballaha III intended to go to Jerusalem, and, when they travelled as far as Persia, Yaballaha was appointed to the patriarchate of the See of Ctesiphon-Seleucia, that is to say, he was consecrated as the Catholicos of the Nestorian church, for the reason that he came from the country of the Ongut, of which the king had a close connection with the khan of the Mongols in Peking.⁽⁴⁾ And, when John of Monte Corvino was sent to Khan-baliq, he stayed on his way for some time in Koshang and converted the king George from Nestorianism into Catholicism. The king George "built a beautiful church on a scale of royal magnificence to the honour of our God, of the holy Trinity, and of the lord Pope, and of my (John of Monte Corvino's) name, calling it the Roman Church."⁽⁵⁾ However, the king George died in 1298 and his brother Shu-hu nan (Johanan or John)⁽⁶⁾ who succeeded him sub-

(2) *Yuan chao pi shih*, Bks. 7, 8. NAKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 268 ff., 328 ff.

(3) *Fu wa Kua-t'ang Chung-wen wang-pei* (Inscription in memory of the king George of the Ongut), in *Yuan wen lei*, Bk. 23 (ed. Kuo tsueh-chi pien ts'ung shu, vol. 1, p. 295); *Wang fu ts'ung-pang-pei chi*, in *Monumenta Serica*, III, pp. 251-255. *Yuan-shih*, Bks. 100, 118; BENFEDTO, *Marco Polo il Africano*, Firenze, 1 ed. S. Olschki, 1928, p. 60. *Yuan-chih pu ts'ung-pien*, ed. *Erh-shih-wu-shih pu pien*, VI, p. 8314. NAKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330; P. PELLLOT, in *IP*, XV, 1914, p. 631.

(4) BENFEDTO, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(5) Uchi. I followed the translation by J. A. MONTGOMERY, *The History of Yaballaha III, Nestorian Patriarch and his Vicar Bar Summa, Mongol Ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the end of the Thirteenth Century*, New York, Columbia University, 1927. Also see MOULÉ, pp. 94-127.

(6) The letter of John has the date of January 8, 1305. See P. A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Studia Franciscana*, I, 1920, pp. 348-349; MOULÉ, pp. 173-174. Montecorvino writes that the king George died six years ago, that is to say, in 1299. However, according to the inscription in memory of the king, he died in autumn of the second year of Ta-t'ê, which falls in 1298.

(7) Besides Shu-hu nan, such Christian names as An-t'ing (Autumn) and Chao-an (John or John) and Hsiao-shu-tai (Constantine) among the members of the royal family are another piece of evidence of their Christian worship. See *Fu wa Kua-t'ang Chung-wen wang-pei* (Inscription in memory of the king George) in *Yuan wen lei*, Bk. 23, in which Shu-hu nan is written as *Mu-hu-nan* (also in ed. 1889) in one place, but *Mu* is obviously

verted all whom John had converted, leading them back to their former schism.

However, no material remains had been known to endorse these literary evidences concerning the christianity of the Ongut. And no clear identification had ever been made as to where the Ongut kingdom was situated, except that it was vaguely guessed that it was in Tenduc of Marco Polo or what is now the plain of Kuei-hua-ch'eng and Sui-yuan (Kôko khoto).⁽¹⁾ At the end of the second decade of this century, a considerable number of the so-called Ordos Cross were collected from old tombs in the Ordos region inside the great loop of the Yellow river. As the Ordos region had been a part of the Ongut kingdom, it is beyond doubt that these crosses had belonged to the Ongut who were followers of the Nestorianism. This was the first disclosure of Christian remains of this people.⁽²⁾

The discovery of the Ordos cross were followed by another and more important discovery of the sites of the capital and other towns and villages of the Ongut kingdom. These sites are situated in the area to the north of Sui-yuan, extending from T'o-k'o-t'o which is located in the southernmost part to Olon-Sume-in Tor which is in the northernmost (Map I). The site of Olon-Sume-in Tor is situated about 30 kilometres to the north of Pailing-miao and also known under the name of Yisun-Sume-in Tor or Ruin of Nine Temples (probably of Lamaism). These sites of Ongut towns were visited by Huang Wen pi, member of the staff of the Sino-Swedish Expedi-

a serious error of *chi*. The identity of Hsiao-shu-tai and Constantine has been proposed by NAMIO EGAMI (*Yûrushiya Hoppô Bunka no Kenkyû*, Tokyo, Yamakawa shuppan sha, 1951, p. 260). Hsiao-shu-tai is a Chinese transcription of the denasalized form of Constantine, just like Chi (read Ku)-ssu-tai or K'ie-ssu-tai for Kostantiniya, i.e. Constantinople (P. PELLLOT, *Notes on Marco Polo*, I, Paris 1950, p. 407). In the meantime, Hsiao-shu-tai is identified by Sasaki with Kostanz of an inscription of the Ongut tombstone (*Shina Kirizento kyô no Kenkyû*, II, Tokyo, Shunjû sha, 1943, pp. 447-450). However, Kostanz is always used as a female name in the inscriptions of Semirjetie (D. CHWOLSON, *Syrish-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetie*, *Mémoires des l'Académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, VII sér., t. XXXVII, No. 8, St. Pétersbourg, 1890 and Neue Folge of 1907. I followed the translation and photographs published in SAKI, *Kiryô no Kenkyû*, Tokyo, The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo, Institute, 1935, pp. 796-888). There is no Kostanz used for the name of male, while Hsiao-shu-tai is a male.

(8) YUEL CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, I, pp. 286-288; P. PELLLOT, *Chrétiens de l'Asie centrale*, *TP*, XV, 1914, p. 629 ff.; MOULÉ, p. 96 Note 7; W. BARTHOLD, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Turken Mittelasiens*, repr. 1962, pp. 129-130. Tenduc is T'ien-tê of Chinese records, which was situated in the north-western corner of Ordos during the Tang. Under the Mongol dynasty, T'ien-tê had been removed to what is now Po-t'a to the east of Sui-yuan. Marco Polo's Tenduc is used as a general name of the plain of Kuei-hua-ch'eng and Sui-yuan. See S. WAKA, *Hôshû Tenkoku gwa no ichi ni tsuite* (On the location of Fêng-chuo T'ien-tê chow), *Shirui*, XVI, 2, 1931.

(9) Concerning the Ordos cross, reference is made in SAKI, 1937 (1951), pp. 424-425. Now, see I. HAMBIS, *Notes sur quelques sceaux-monnettes nestoriens en bronze*, *BEPFO*, XI, IV, 1954, pp. 483-525.

1000 (1929)⁽¹⁰⁾, Owen Lattimore (1933)⁽¹¹⁾, E. Haenish (1936)⁽¹²⁾, Desmond Martin (1936)⁽¹³⁾, H. Haslund Christensen (1937)⁽¹⁴⁾, and Nami Egami and his party (1933, 1939, 1942)⁽¹⁵⁾. It was Desmond Martin who most widely investigated the region to locate a number of sites of Ongut towns and villages, such as Bitchik Jellag, Derriseng Khutuk, Shabe Khuren, Wang-mu near Ch'ing pa tzu II, Boro Baishing, Mukhor Soborghon and Olon-Sume-in Tor, where he discovered several kind of remains including Chinese stone inscriptions, Nestorian tombstones and other objects. Among others, the Chinese stone inscription found at the site of Olon-Sume-in Tor and studied by Ch'ên Yuan⁽¹⁶⁾ has established in an undeniable way that Olon Sume-in Tor is the site of the capital of the Ongut kingdom, Koshang of the *History of Yaballaha III*. The inscription also gives informations concerning the history of the royal family of the Ongut, which supplement the records hitherto known.⁽¹⁷⁾

Olon Sume-in Tor is a ruin of city of rectangular shape (about 580 m. × 970 m.), enclosed by walls of mud, with an inner site of the royal palace also of rectangular shape (220 m. × 280 m.). It was Egami and his party that investigated the site more in detail than any other else and located there remains of three main buildings⁽¹⁸⁾. These three are the ruins of a Catholic

(10) *Notes on Chinese Research in 1929-30* in *Yeu-ch'ing Hsueh-pao*, Vol. VIII, 1930, p. 1610.

(11) *A Ruined Nestorian City in Inner Mongolia*, *Geographical Journal*, 1934, pp. 481-497.

(12) See Martin's article, p. 232 in the next note.

(13) *Preliminary Report on Nestorian Remains North of Kwei-kwa*, *Suiyuan Monuments Series*, III, 1, 1938, pp. 232-249, with a map and Plts. I, XVI, and many illustrations.

(14) See MARTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

(15) SAEKI, *Keikyô no Kenkyû* or *A Critical Study on Nestorianism*, Tokyo, 1935, P. I, XVII and a supplementary note to it, pp. *1-2: *Môko-kôgen ôdanki* or *Across the Mongolian Plateau*, Tokyo, Asahi Shimbun-sha, 1937, pp. 276-294, SAEKI, 1937, pp. 425, 426. Saeki published some photographs of Nestorian relics, taken by Egami. But, what is published in the *Keikyô no Kenkyû* as relics in Pao ling-miao is published in SAEKI, 1937 (1951) as relics in Olon Sume-in Tor. At first, Egami considered the site of Olon-Sume-in Tor as that of the period of Ming (*Keikyô no Kenkyû*, p. *1). Other publications of Egami concerning Olon-Sume-in Tor will be quoted below.

(16) *On the Damaged Tablets discovered by Mr. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia*, *Monumenta Series*, III, pp. 250 ff.

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 252-255.

(18) Egami's publications concerning the site of Olon-Sume-in Tor are as follows, excluding what are mentioned in note (15).

1. *Higashi-Ajia ni okeru saisho no Daishikyô Monte Corvino no Roma Kyôkai no ishi* (*On the site of the church of Monte Corvino, the first Archbishop of the Roman church in East Asia*), originally published in *Jintan*, III, 2 and reprinted in *Yurashiya Hoppô Bunka no Kenkyû*, pp. 256-276 (see note 7).

2. *Ongut fu ni okeru Keikyô no keitô to sono bôseki* (*Relationship of Nestorianism among the Ongut to Nestorianism in other parts of Asia and the tombstones of the Ongut*), *Tôyô Bunka Kenkyû-sha Kyô*, II, 1952, pp. 287-315.

church, Nestorian church and the royal library. The ruin of the Catholic church is situated at the northeastern corner of the city. The cross-shaped piece of building, some pieces of decorative tiles and a broken piece of human figure made of clay indicate, according to Egami, that it is unmistakably the site of the Catholic church erected by the king George and John of Monte Corvino.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Nestorian church is situated about 200 m. to the north of the site of the royal palace, but the church had been converted into a lamaistic temple and destroyed in such a way as it was almost impossible to reconstruct the original plan. The royal library is a site inside the ruins of the royal palace. The tomb of the king, which exists some one kilometer to the north of the site of the city,⁽²⁰⁾ was also investigated by Egami.

Among the relics discovered in these sites, the tombstones with the so-called Nestorian cross, inscriptions and some other kind of decorations, are the most interesting. The photographs of these tombstones were published by Lattimore, Martin, and Egami. Yoshirô Saeki also published some photographs which he borrowed from Egami as early as 1935 and 1937.⁽²¹⁾ These tombstones are worked into a shape of coffin, of which one end where the head is supposed to be placed is made higher than the other where the foot is supposed to be placed. The cross is inscribed on both sides of the higher part. The Ongut tombstone makes a distinct contrast to that of Semirjeche, which consists of a single round stone with no other decorations than cross and inscriptions. Moreover, the cross of Semirjeche the tombstone is of West Asian style, in the sense that the cross itself is decorated with various kinds of design, while the cross of Ongut tombstones is just a simple cross with no decoration on itself. In some cases, the cross of the Ongut tombstone is enclosed by a frame, which Egami compares to an Islamic lantern, as is seen in the so-called Zaytun (Ch'üan-chou, China) cross. In other cases, the cross is represented as placed on a stand decorated with lotus or some other kind of flowers or designs, which is the same in the Zaytun cross.⁽²²⁾

3. *Ongut-fu no tojishu Olon-Sume (Olon-Sume, the site of the capital of the Ongut)*, *Shizen to Bunka, Separate Issue*, II, 1955, pp. 1-12.

4. *Découverte de l'Eglise romaine établie au XIII^e siècle en Mongolie, par Giovanni da Monte Corvino. Conférence, Serie Orientale Roma, VII, ISMEO, 1955, pp. 41-55 (1).*

5. *Olon-Sume et la découverte de l'Eglise catholique romaine de Jean de Montecorvino*, *JA*, CCXL, 1952, pp. 155-167.

(19) The plan of the Roman church (*JA*, 1952, p. 165) is very unique. No similar one is found in the plans of Christian church demonstrated by D. T. RICE, *Arte cristiana in Asia*, in *Le civiltà dell'Oriente*, IV, Roma, Edizione Casini, 1962, pp. 431-450.

(20) The body of George was removed from a place called *Pu-lo* to the graveyard near Olon-Sume-in Tor when his son Shu-an (*John*) ruled the kingdom (see the biography of George in *Yuan-shih*, Bk. 118).

(21) See note (15).

(22) TALBOT RICE (*Le civiltà dell'Oriente*, IV, p. 440) is of the opinion that the cross represented with leaves underneath is considered to be a traditional characteristic in Mesopotamia, as well as in the zone of heretic Christianity and he gives as examples the cross of the Nestorian inscription of 781 in Hsi-an and that of tombstones discovered in Ch'üan-chou (Zaytun). However the decoration underneath these crosses is not leaves but either

Egami considers that the Islamic lantern type of frame was originated in Western Asia and introduced into China where it had long been in use.¹²⁰ In this way, Egami concludes that from the point of view of design and decoration the Ongut cross is more closely related to that in Zaytun than that in Semirjeche.

The difference of type and design of cross may also suggest the difference of ceremony and doctrine between the Nestorianism of the Ongut and that of the inhabitants of Semirjeche. That Yaballaha III went to Peking to study under Rabban Sauma and that he first declined the offer of patriarchate for the reason that he did not know Syriac¹²¹ will also tell that the Nestorianism of the Ongut was more closely connected with that in China than that in Central and Western Asia.

The difference between the Nestorianism of the Ongut and that of Semirjeche is also seen from the language and phraseology of inscriptions of the tombstones. Both the Ongut and Semirjeche inscriptions are written in Syriac letters, though the letters used by the Ongut are more formal in style than those used in Semirjeche. But in Semirjeche the majority of inscriptions are written in Syriac, while a small number of them in Turkish. On the other hand, the Ongut inscription which is much shorter than that in Semirjeche is always written in Turkish and their phraseology is a bit different.

It was K. Groenbech who studied the inscriptions of the Ongut tombstones on the basis of the photographs taken by Martin. The inscriptions are usually too obscure to be deciphered, but from one good specimen (Pl. I, fig. 1) he succeeded in establishing that the passage runs as follows: "bu qura [kalba] *ning'ol*" (This tomb is that of ...), the dots giving the name of the deceased.¹²² Saeki, who deciphered the same inscription, has established the name of the deceased as Kushtanz.¹²³ Saeki also tried to decipher thirty

flowers or some other designs, but it may suggest that this type of representation of cross had come from the West.

(23) The so-called Islamic lantern shaped frame may not necessarily be looked upon as an influence of Islamic architecture. The frame may represent a recess where a sacred image is placed for the purpose of worship. Or it may be a simplified representation of an altar with a curtain drawn to both sides. There are many examples of this kind of recess or altar in Chinese Buddhist art before the coming of Islam. For instance, refer to the caves of Fan Huang, Yun Kung and Mei chi-shan.

(24) MONTGOMERY, pp. 31, 44.

(25) K. GROENBECH, *Turkish Inscriptions from Inner Mongolia*, «Monumenta Serica», IV, 1939, pp. 305-307. It is the merit of Groenbech to have identified the language of the Ongut with Turkish.

(26) SAEKI, *Fichi Mōka Henkureibyō ni fukin ni okeru Ketkyō iseki ni tsuite* (Notes on the Nestorian Sites in the neighbourhood of Pan-lung-miao, Inner Mongolia), «Tōhō Gakuhō», Tokyo, IX, 1939, pp. 49-89. It is based on the 11th chapter of SAEKI, *Shina Kirintokyō no Kenkyū*, II, pp. 414-473, which is a complete reprint of this article and another in note (26). On the decipherment of the name Kushtanz, see pp. 433 ff. Also see Groenbech's criticism to Saeki's decipherment in «Monumenta Serica», IV, pp. 307-308.

teen inscriptions on the basis of their photographs and rubbings brought back by Egami.¹²⁴ These inscriptions are being re-examined by Shichiro Murayama and his study on the same inscription deciphered by Groenbech and Saeki is published at the end of the present article as an appendix.

The decipherment is very important from the point of view that it has established that the Ongut were Turkish speaking people. Bar Hebraeus who gives a brief note upon Yaballaha III and Rabban Sauma identifies these two people with Yaghurite, that is to say the Uighur,¹²⁵ which makes one suppose the Turkish origin of the Ongut. But, the fact that their tomb inscriptions are written in Turkish is a decisive evidence that the Ongut were speaking Turkish. As Groenbech pointed out, if they were speaking some other language than Turkish, they should have used Syriac for the inscriptions of their tombstone, because Syriac was the sacred language for Nestorians.

The inscriptions of the Ongut tombstones are different from those of Semirjeche¹²⁶ in the following points: (1) They consist of a single line just to notify that this is the tomb of such and such person,¹²⁷ while those in Semirjeche are much longer, denoting not only the name of the deceased but also their occupations; (2) No date is given in the inscriptions of the Ongut, while it is written in the Semirjeche inscriptions; (3) the Ongut inscriptions are all written in Turkish, so far as they are deciphered, but those of Semirjeche are sometimes in Turkish and sometimes in Syriac; (4) the Ongut inscriptions end in *ning ol* "is of", while those of Semirjeche in *ning turur* for the same meaning, of which *ning* is used as copula.

The sites of the Ongut kingdom have been investigated only very superficially and still it was enough to let one realize their importance. It is, therefore, earnestly desired that systematic explorations and investigations will be taken up in near future, which will certainly reveal many new facts concerning the history and culture of this Turkish ally to the Genghis-khanids.

(27) SAEKI, *Futatabi Hyakureibyō fukin ni okeru Ketkyō iseki ni tsuite* (Once more on the Nestorian sites in the neighbourhood of Pan-lung-miao), «Tōhō Gakuhō», Tokyo, Vol. XI, No. 1, 1941, pp. 160-173 (= *Shina Kirintokyō no Kenkyū*, II, pp. 457-473).

(28) MONTGOMERY, p. 18; MOHR, p. 94 note 2. Mohr writes that another *Life of Yaballaha* says that he was a Turk from Cathay.

(29) As for the Turkish language of Nestorian inscriptions of the Ongut and in Semirjeche, see MECDUT MANSUROĞLU, *Die Inschriften von Semiret'e und die der Ongut Turken* in «Philologiae Turicae Fennolaminta», 1959, pp. 108-112; S. E. MALOV, *Pamyatniki drevneturkiskoi pis'mennosti Mongolii i Kirgizii*, Moskva Leningrad, 1959, pp. 75 ff.

(30) EGAMI («JA», 1952, p. 163) writes «Les inscriptions gravées en écriture syriaque sont en langue turque. Elles sont très brèves et comportent toutes la même formule; celle-ci est celle de l'aul du roi George (dans la plupart des cas)». But I do not know which inscription Egami is indicating.

(2) CHRISTIAN AND OTHER RELIGIONS REMAINS
IN CH'ÜAN-CHOU (ZAYTUN) AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

The city of Ch'üan-chou (called Chin-chiang-hsien at present) situated at the mouth of the Chin-chiang river, on the coast apposite to Formosa, is at present a small local centre of the province Fu-chien. However, it was known under the name of Zaytun (Zaitun) and had been one of the most prosperous international ports in the world from the 9th century down to the 15th.

Since 1087 the Superintendent of Trading Ships had been established there to control the foreign trade⁽¹⁴⁾ and during the period of Sung (960-1279) and Yuan (1279-1368) Ch'üan-chou grew rapidly in importance for its prosperous international trade⁽¹⁵⁾ which was one of the most important source of income for both the Sung and Yuan governments.⁽¹⁶⁾ The government of Yuan tried to encourage the foreign trade by building ships on their expenses and invited merchants to charter them for going abroad to trade.⁽¹⁷⁾

Marco Polo, who left Ch'üan-chou at the end of 1290 or at the beginning of 1291 to set sail for his native country,⁽¹⁸⁾ says about Zaytun as follows: "At this city (Zaytun) you must know is the Harbour of Zaytun, frequented by all the ships of India, which bring thither spicery and all other kinds of costly wares. It is the port also that is frequented by all the merchants of Manzi (South China), for hither is imported the most astonishing quantity of goods and of precious stones and pearls, and from this they are distributed all over Manzi. And I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere, destined for Christendom, there come a hundred such, and more too, to this harbour of Zaytun; for it is one of the greatest harbours in the world for commerce."⁽¹⁹⁾ Marco Polo continues to say that the Great Khan derives a very large revenue from the duties paid in this city and haven and that between freight and the Khan's duties the merchant has to pay a good half the value of his investment.⁽²⁰⁾ And Ibn Batûta who visited Ch'üan-chou about 1346 states as follows: "I must tell you that the first Chinese city that I reached after crossing the sea was Zaitûn. It is

(14) KUWABARA, I, pp. 19-20.

(15) KUWABARA, I, pp. 20-21, 25-28.

(16) KUWABARA, I, pp. 24-25, II, pp. 77-79; *Wu Han, T'ung-hsia-chi*, Peking, 1961 pp. 6-7.

(17) KUWABARA, II, pp. 80-83 and Biography of LU SHIN-YING in *Yüan-shih*, Bk. 205.

(18) YANG CHIH-CHIU and HO YANG-CHI, *Marco Polo quits China*, *HJAS*, IX, 1945, 47, p. 51; M. OTANI, *Marco Polo Genchô taizai nenjiki* (*A Chronological Study of Marco Polo's Stay in China*), *Buddha*, XV, 2, March 1951, pp. 31-44; G. VACCA, *Un documento cinese sulla data del ritorno di Marco Polo*, *Studi Colombiani*, III, 1951, pp. 45-48.

(19) YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, II, London, 1903, pp. 234-235.

(20) *Ibid.*, p. 235.

a great city, superb indeed. The harbour of Zaitûn is one of the greatest in the world,—I am wrong; it is the greatest! I have seen about one hundred first class junks together; as for small ones they were past counting. The harbour is formed by a great estuary which runs inland from the sea until it joins the Great River."⁽²¹⁾

Many merchants gathered in Ch'üan-chou not only from other parts of China but also from abroad. Foreign merchants and their families stayed in a special quarter of the city where they built their dwellings and gardens according to the fashion of their own country. This special quarter was called Ch'üan-nan or the Southern Part of the city of Ch'üan-chou because it was situated in the south of the city.⁽²²⁾ It faced the Chin-chiang river and was convenient for the communication with ships stayed in the port. As is well known, the foreign community in the special quarter was ruled by a head or heads of their own, enjoying a sort of extraterritoriality.⁽²³⁾ Ibn Batûta writes that the Mohammedans had a city of their own and that he had visits of the *qâdî* of the Mohammedans, Tâjuddîn of Ardebil, the *sheikh* of Islam, Kamâluddîn Ahdallah of Ispahan and the chief merchants of the place.⁽²⁴⁾ Many stories are told about the huge fortune, luxury, and strange experiences of Chinese traders and foreign merchants who stayed in Ch'üan-chou.⁽²⁵⁾

Chau Ju-kua who was the Superintendent of Trading Ships at Ch'üan-chou compiled a book in 1225 and named it *Chu-fan-chih* or a *Record of Several Foreign Countries*.⁽²⁶⁾ He writes about a big Arabic merchant named Sirâvi who settled in Ch'üan-nan and built a graveyard for foreign merchants in southeastern suburbs outside the city; about an Indian merchant named Shih-lo-pa-chi-li-kan and his son, who came from the Malabar coast of India and settled in Ch'üan-nan; and about a Buddhist monk Lo-hu-na who came from India and built a Buddhist temple named Pao-lin-yüan in Ch'üan-nan.⁽²⁷⁾ Another record states that a Mohammedan who came from Bahrein near Oman and lived in Ch'üan-nan made a great fortune with foreign trade and that he married to a daughter of the family P'u who was also Mohammedan and the most powerful in the city.⁽²⁸⁾ In this way, the population of this city consisted of several nationalities. The existence of Genoese,

(21) YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, London 1916, pp. 118-119.

(22) KUWABARA, I, pp. 33, 38-40.

(23) KUWABARA, I, pp. 34, 40-41.

(24) YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay and the way Thither*, IV, 119.

(25) For instance, see *I-chien-chi*, Section Chia, Br. 7, pp. 52-53. Section Feng Bk. 6, p. 47 (edition Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng). These two stories of *I-chien-chi* have not yet been noticed by scholars.

(26) HOWEVER, *Chu-fan-chi* is mostly copying *Ling-wai-tai-ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei. See K. ENOKI, *Some Remarks on the country of Ta-ch'in*, etc., *Asia Major*, IV, p. 1.

(27) HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg, 1912, pp. 110, 88-111. Pao-lin-yüan is written as Buddhist temple in Chau Ju-kua, but Wu Wen-liang identifies it with a Hindu temple (*JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, p. 4).

(28) KUWABARA, II, p. 95.

Armenian and Jewish merchants is referred to in letters of Franciscan brothers at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁽⁴⁶⁾

It was Mohammedans who commanded the majority of foreign population in the city of Ch'üan-chou as we can see from the statement of Ibn Batūta that Mohammedans had a city of their own.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Under the Yüan, many Mohammedans stayed in Ch'üan-chou not only as merchants but also as governors of the city and as other governmental officials. Among these Mohammedans, there was such an influential man as P'u Shou-k'eng who was the Superintendent of Trading Ships in the latter half of the thirteenth century and played an important rôle as a collaborator of the Mongol government to destroy the Sung.⁽⁴⁸⁾ His ancestors were probably Arabs and lived in Sze-chuan until they migrated to Ch'üan-chou,⁽⁴⁹⁾ and his descendants and their relatives had been very wealthy and powerful throughout the Yuan dynasty.

Together with the increase of these foreign populations, foreign religions were introduced. They were worshipped primarily by these foreigners and later by native converts. Among these foreign religions introduced into Ch'üan-chou, the Mohammedanism and the Manichaeism are well known. A local tradition claims that the Mohammedanism was introduced into Ch'üan-chou in the period of Chên-kuan (627-649), of T'ang, but it was in 1131 that the mosque named Ch'ing-ching-shu Temple was established by a merchant of Sirāf. There are also tombs of two Mohammedan saints, who are said to have come to Ch'üan-chou to preach their religion, at a mountain named Ling-shan, two kilometres to the east of the city.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The Manichaeism had been very widely spread in South China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in spite of several persecutions by the government of Sung. And it revived and once more persecuted under the Mongols. There still exists a Manichaean temple at the top of a mountain named Hua-piao-shan to the south of the city of Ch'üan-chou. At present, the Manichaean tradition and teaching are quite forgotten, it being specialized in incantation and prayer for the cure of disease and obtaining fortunes, but it is of no doubt that it is the remnant of a Manichaean temple.⁽⁵¹⁾ I shall refer to this Manichaean temple later.

(46) MOULE, pp. 192, 194, 195, 209.

(47) YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, p. 119.

(48) See KAWABARA, I, and II.

(49) LO HSING-LIN, *A New Study of P'u Shou-k'eng and his Times*, Hong Kong, Institute of Chinese Culture, 1959, pp. 11-38.

(50) Concerning the history of Mohammedanism in Ch'üan-chou see KAWABARA, I, p. 14. II, pp. 33-34. GREG ARNAUD et MAX VAN BERTHEM, *Mémoires sur les antiquités musulmanes de l'Yunnan chinois*, *JP*, 1911, pp. 704-740, 720-727. WU WEN-HSIANG, *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-k'ao chi*, Peking 1957, pp. 22-25.

(51) Concerning the manichaean temple of Hua-piao-shan, I shall again refer at the end of this chapter. In the meantime the following articles may be consulted about the spread of Manichaeism in South China.

There are also records concerning the Franciscan mission in Ch'üan-chou in the fourteenth century. Brother Peregrine wrote in 1318 that an Armenian lady had donated a good church with residence in the city [which later was made a cathedral], and that outside the city they had a beautiful place with a wood where they wished to build cells and an oratory.⁽⁵²⁾ Brother Andrew of Perugia also wrote in 1326 of this church in the city where he removed from Khan-baliq about 1323, as well as of a new church which he built in a certain grove near the city, that is to say, the same place as mentioned by brother Peregrine. Brother Andrew was receiving a royal charity to maintain the church.⁽⁵³⁾ and Marignolli refers to a third church in 1347.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The Nestorian church had disappeared in China since the persecution in 845 until it revived under the Mongol rule. The *yeh-li-k'o-wên* was a general appellation of Christians in that period, including the followers of Nestorianism.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Many *yeh-li-k'o-wên* played an important part in China as missionaries, governmental officials, military officers, men of letters and so on. They spread in various parts of China. Among others, in Chên-chiang near the mouth of Yang-tzu-chiang, one of the most important political and commercial centres in South China, 5 per cent of population was occupied by the *yeh-li-k'o-wên*.⁽⁵⁶⁾ So, it is quite likely that there were Nestorian inhabitants in Ch'üan-chou, too.

WANG KUO-WEI, *Ma-ni-chiao-lu hsing Chung-huo K'ao* (A study on the introduction and Diffusion of Manichaeism in China) (in *Kuan-t'ung-pieh-chi-hou-pien*, especially fol. 130-134 for the development in South China and the prohibition under the Yuan).

Ed. CHAVANNE et P. PELLEROT, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, *JA*, 1911 et 1913, especially 1913, pp. 339-343. *L'usage à part*, pp. 301-305.

— CH'EN YÜAN, *Ma-ni-chiao-lu hsing Chung-huo K'ao*, *Kuo-hsueh-chi-k'ao*, I, 2, 1923, pp. 203-240.

— P. PELLEROT, *Les traditions manichéennes au Fan-kiên*, *TP*, XXII, 1923, pp. 193-208.

— SHUNSHO SHIGEMATSU, *Tô Sô jûrai no Mani kyô to Makôô to Manbu* (Manichaeism in China under the T'ang and Sung and the persecution against the Teaching of Demons), *Shyoku*, XII, 1936, pp. 85-114 (esp. p. 107).

— MOTI JÜN-SUN, *De Manichaeism tempore Dynastiae Sung* (in Chinese), *Fu-jen, tsueh-chi*, VII, 1/2, 1938, pp. 125-146.

— WU HAN, *Ming-chiao yn Fa-ming ti kuo* (Manichaeism and the Great Ming Empire), *Chung-hua tsueh-pao*, XIII, 1, 1949 (I quote from the article reprinted in WU HAN, *Ts'ing-sha-chi*, Peking, 1961, pp. 235-270).

— LIU MIN-JU, *Ch'üan-chou shih-k'ao san-p'o* (Commentaries to Three Stone Inscriptions of Ch'üan-chou), *K'ao-ku t'ung-hsin*, 1958, 6, pp. 60-62.

— In spite of so many persecutions, the Manichaeism could survive in disguise as Buddhism or Taoism. On this point, also see PUECH, in *Le Civilisé dell'Oriente, Religione*, etc., p. 283).

(52) A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Sinica Franciscana*, I, p. 867; MOULE, p. 209.

(53) A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193; MOULE, p. 209.

(54) A. VAN DEN WYNGAERT, *Ibid.*, pp. 536; MOULE, p. 250.

(55) CH'EN YÜAN, *Yuan yeh-li-k'o-wên K'ao* (The *yeh-li-k'o-wên* under the Yuan) is the best study available for the moment.

(56) A. C. MOULE and L. GILES, *Christians at Chên-chiang fu*, *TP*, XVI, 1915, pp. 627-686 (= MOULE, pp. 145-165).

However, except the three crosses discovered in the city of Ch'üan-chou and its neighbourhood in 1503 and 1643 and published by Father Emmanuël Diaz⁽⁵⁷⁾ S. J. in 1644⁽⁵⁸⁾, no relics had ever come to the knowledge of academic world up to 1905 or 1906 when another Nestorian cross turned up in the city.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The photograph of this cross was published in T'oung Pao, 1914, and stimulated scholars interested in the history of Christianity in China. A systematic investigation of religious sites and relics of Ch'üan-chou was initiated by G. Eckel and P. Demiéville who published a monograph on the Twin Pagodas of Zaytun in 1935.⁽⁶⁰⁾ This is a study of architecture and iconography of the K'ai yüan-ssu Temple which is the biggest and oldest Buddhist temple in the city. Among the photographs they published, there are pictures of the graveyard of Mohammedans outside the city, of remains of stone carvings of Hinduism, which are now used as a part of construction of the K'ai yüan-ssu temple, of the same cross which was published in T'oung Pao, and of a part of the old port of Ch'üan-chou and some other historical sites. Their study revealed that Ch'üan-chou is an extremely interesting and important field of archaeology and history. But no further systematic investigations were undertaken until after the World War II.

Under the Mongol government, such religions as Buddhism, Taoism, Muhammedanism, and Christianity could enjoy the equal freedom because of the tolerant policy of the Mongols. The only exceptions were the Manichaeism and Lamaism, the former having been strictly prohibited and the later very earnestly worshipped by the emperor and the royal family, though the Manichaeism known under some different names⁽⁶¹⁾ were still popular among the people especially in South China. But, when the Ming replaced the Mongols in 1368, only the Taoism and Buddhism were considered as legitimate national religion and the others of foreign origin were expelled from China. Foreigners who had been staying in China were forced either to go out of China or to mix with Chinese population and, as a rule, foreigners were admitted to come to China both by land and by sea only on the occasion

(57) He published them in his study on the Nestorian Inscription of 781, entitled *T'ang Ching chiao pei yüng chen ch'uan*, Hang chow, 1944.

(58) Moule is of the opinion that Martini reported in 1655 about the existence of Christian relics in Chang chün which Moule takes for mistake of Ch'üan-chou (MOULE, p. 83); FOSTER, *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2 p. 3; SAKKI, *Keikvô no Kenkyû*, Tokyû 1935, p. 972, states that among the Governors of Ch'üan chün during the Yuan there was one Ma-ya-hu which he reconstructs into Mar Yahah and identifies with a Nestorian. However, there is no such names among the officials in Ch'üan chün in the period concerned. See *Fu-chien t'ung-chih* (ed. CHEN LUNG), Bk 23, and *Ch'üan chou fu-chih*, Bk 26, though there is no doubt that ma-ya-hu is a Nestorian name (*Yuan shih*, Bk 7, fol. 144, ed. FO NA-P'EN).

(59) See the bibliography of G. ECKEL and P. DEMÉVILLE, *The Twin Pagodas of Zaytun: A study of later Buddhist Sculpture in China* (Harvard-Yenching Monograph Series, 2) Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

(60) See the articles quoted in note (22).

when they wanted to see the emperor to pay tribute to him⁽⁶¹⁾. Under the circumstances, in Ch'üan-chou too, the followers of Nestorian and Franciscan churches may have decreased in number until there were none of them. The Manichaeans and Mohammedans survived the new policy of Ming, but Mohammedans who had been so influential in Ch'üan-chou under the Yüan were subject to agitation of non-mohammedans who did not like them. To make the matter worse, the Government of Ming closed the port of Ch'üan-chou to concentrate the foreign trade by sea only at Canton in 1528 and, thus, Ch'üan-chou had no opportunity to regain its former prosperity.

Under the Ming and the Ch'ing which succeeded the former, old tombstones of Mohammedans and Christians and other religious constructions were removed and used for the repairment of the city walls or for some other purpose of new construction⁽⁶²⁾. Many monuments were destroyed in this way and very little became known about foreign settlers and their settlements in this city.

It was the Sino-Japanese War that changed the situation. In 1941, the Japanese forces occupied the city of Fu-chou, the capital of Fu-chien Province, to reinforce the blockade of the coast of South China. Against this, the Chinese authorities ordered to demolish the city wall of Ch'üan-chou at several parts for the reason of strategy.⁽⁶³⁾ Thousand and thousand pieces of stone were removed and so many tombstones of foreigners and other stone constructions which originally made a part of building of temples and churches were discovered among them. These stones were a part of those which were removed from their original place and used for the repairment of the city walls during the Ming and Ch'ing. However, because of the war with Japan, no proper attention was paid either for recording or preserving precious historical relics. Many of them were again cut into pieces to be used for another purpose of construction.

Since the establishment of the Communist Regime, these relics and other sites of historical importance of Ch'üan-chou have been investigated and preserved systematically by a special committee. And two museums have already been set up to keep and exhibit the most important remains of this

(61) It was not only because of the new nationalistic and anti-foreign policy of the Ming government, but also because of the destruction of the Mongol empire that the foreigners, especially Europeans, could not get in to China under the Ming. The Asian trade which had been open to every merchant of any nationality under the Mongols were once more monopolized by Mohammedans. However, even the Mohammedans outside China could not come to China except when they were accepted as a diplomatic mission representing their king.

(62) For instance, see *Ch'üan-chou fu-chih*, Bk 11.

(63) Wu Wen-liang writes, according to FOSTER (*JRAS*, 1954, 1/2 p. 4), that the order was issued in 1938. But this must be a mistake. The Japanese military operation in Fu-chien did not take place until 1941. As to the meaning of this order to demolish the city walls, see Foster, p. 3 note.

city. Another committee has also been organized for the preservation of the historical monuments of K'ai yuen ssu Temple.⁽⁶⁴⁾

However, the investigation and recording of tombstones and carvings thus turned up had already been started by Wu Wen-liang as early as 1928. His interest in Ch'üan-chou antiquities was awakened in 1920 when he saw a number of stone fragments with carvings unearthed from a part of the city wall demolished to build a railway.⁽⁶⁵⁾ He also witnessed during the war that so many new carved stones turned up and used once more for another purpose of construction.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In 1944, he compiled a book entitled *Ch'üan-chou ku tai shih k'o chi* or *Collection of Ancient Stone Carvings of Ch'üan-chou*, in which he put together the items he investigated up to that time, but, for the reason of finance, he could not afford to circulate it among scholars.⁽⁶⁷⁾ In 1957, by the aid of Academia Sinica, he published *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih k'o* or *Religious Stone Carvings of Ch'üan-chou*, edited by the Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica. Peking: K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan shé, August 1957, Text, pp. 66; Plates, pp. 98, which seems to be an enlarged edition of the former. The book is divided into two parts, texts and illustrations, and it is subdivided into five sections: (1) Mohammedan stone carvings and monuments (illustrations 1-70); (2) Christian stone carvings (illustrations 71-104); (3) Manichaean stones (illustrations 105-110); (4) Hindu stone carvings (illustrations 114-146); and (5) Miscellaneous stone carvings (illustrations 147-161). These are followed by supplementary illustrations 1-25, which contain photographs of Indian, Mohammedan and Christian relics not published in the main text. A short bibliography is attached on pp. 65-66. As for epitaphs, Wu published here not only their photographs but also photographs of their buildings. As Wu himself admits, there are many relics which are known of their existence but not yet photographed to be published here.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Still this is the best collection and study of the antiquities of Ch'üan-chou, which turned up between 1927 and 1957.⁽⁶⁹⁾ After the publication of this book, a number of articles were issued in connection with new findings in

(64) The Museum of History of International Intercourse of the City of Ch'üan-chou (CHAO WAN 11, *Nan hsing jih chi* (*Diary of an Academic Journey in South China*), *Wên-wu*, 1962, p. 27, the Museum in memory of Eminent People in History (*Ibid.*, p. 28) and the Committee of Administration of Cultural Remains of the K'ai-yuen-ssu Temple (*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29) are the names of these museums and committee. As for the investigations conducted by the Museum of International Intercourse, see *Kaogu*, 1959, 11, pp. 611-618, Pl. VII, 1-6. As for other investigations of the antiquities of Fu chuen in recent years, see, *Wên-wu san k'ao tsu hsin*, 1955, 11, pp. 80-90; *Ibid.*, 1957, 1, pp. 71-68; *Wên-wu*, 1959, 2, p. 41 and *Kaogu*, 1959, 11, pp. 619-621.

(65) *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, pp. 3-4.

(66) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(67) *Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih k'o*, p. 2, FOSTER quotes Wu's, *Ch'üan-chou ku tai shih k'o chi chuen yuen* (*Introduction to the Collection of Ancient Stone Carvings of Ch'üan-chou*). It seems that this was the only printed portion of the book.

(68) WU WEN-LIANG, pp. 38-39, 41-42.

(69) Two short reviews were published in *K'ai-ku t'ung-hsin*, 1958, 1, pp. 100-101 and 1958, 10, pp. 73-74.

Ch'üan-chou⁽⁷⁰⁾, but, except in some cases, there are almost nothing to add to Wu's work so long as the religious relics are concerned. In this sense, Wu's contribution is very much appreciated. The only drawback of Wu's book is that no map is published to show the places where these findings were made.

To tell the truth, it was not by this publication that Wu's investigation was first made known to the academic world. John Foster published twenty photographs of stone carvings of Ch'üan-chou, which he selected from what Wu gave to Foster's friend with the hope that someone in the West might publish it.⁽⁷¹⁾ These photographs include relics of Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Christianity, both Nestorian and Roman Catholic (Franciscan), and well represent the variety of Ch'üan-chou findings. It goes without saying that all these photographs are included in Wu's publication, except that of a stone image of Buddhist priest, which appears at the top of the first plate of Foster, as well as that of wrongly assembled Christian-Mohammedan tombstones of Foster's Plate VII. But this does not necessarily mean that Wu's book replaces Foster's publications. The decipherment of epitaphs of Mohammedan and Christian tombstones made in Foster's article give a good clue to the understanding of the nature of the relics, while Wu has published some decipherments in a very insufficient way.

Now, the Christian relics catalogued by Wu are classified into four. The first is the stone slabs inscribed with the so-called Zaytun cross. They are actually the variety of those discovered by Emanuel Díaz and Moya Wu photographed five of them (illustrations 71-74) (Supplementary Illustration 19), of which three have already been published by Foster IRAS, 1954, (Pl. I, fig. 1; fig. 1 in text), and one is the same thing discovered by Moya, the only one published here for the first time being that of Supplementary Illustration 19. These stone slabs are of the so-called "Islamic lantern shape" and carved with a cross with flowers or an angel or some other decoration underneath it. Whether these stone slabs are Nestorian or Roman Catholic is a question which remain to be solved and so is their usage. Wu is of the opinion that they were placed on the top of tombstone which may be called of altar type (see below). Among the Mohammedan relics, there is a stone slab which resembles to the that with cross, both in shape and in design.⁽⁷²⁾ According to Wu, it is also to be placed on a tombstone.⁽⁷³⁾ But these stone slabs can

(70) Among others, two articles of Chuang Wei-chi concerning the sites related to the history of international intercourse recently discovered in Ch'üan-chou (*K'ao-ku t'ung-hsin*, 1956, 3, pp. 43-47, and 1958, 8, pp. 62-64) and a report concerning the results of investigations carried out by the Research Department of the Museum of History of International Intercourse of the City of Ch'üan-chou (*Kaogu*, 1959, 11, pp. 611-618) are important. Some errors of Wu in the decipherment of inscriptions are corrected and some more details about the sites are given by these articles.

(71) JOHN FOSTER, *Crosses from the Walls of Zaitun*, *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, pp. 1-15 with Plates I-XVII. However, Wu criticizes Foster for having published these photographs without his permission (WU WEN-LIANG, p. 2).

(72) WU WEN-LIANG, Illustration 29 (pp. 11, 75).

(73) This type of tomb is published in *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, Pl. VI.

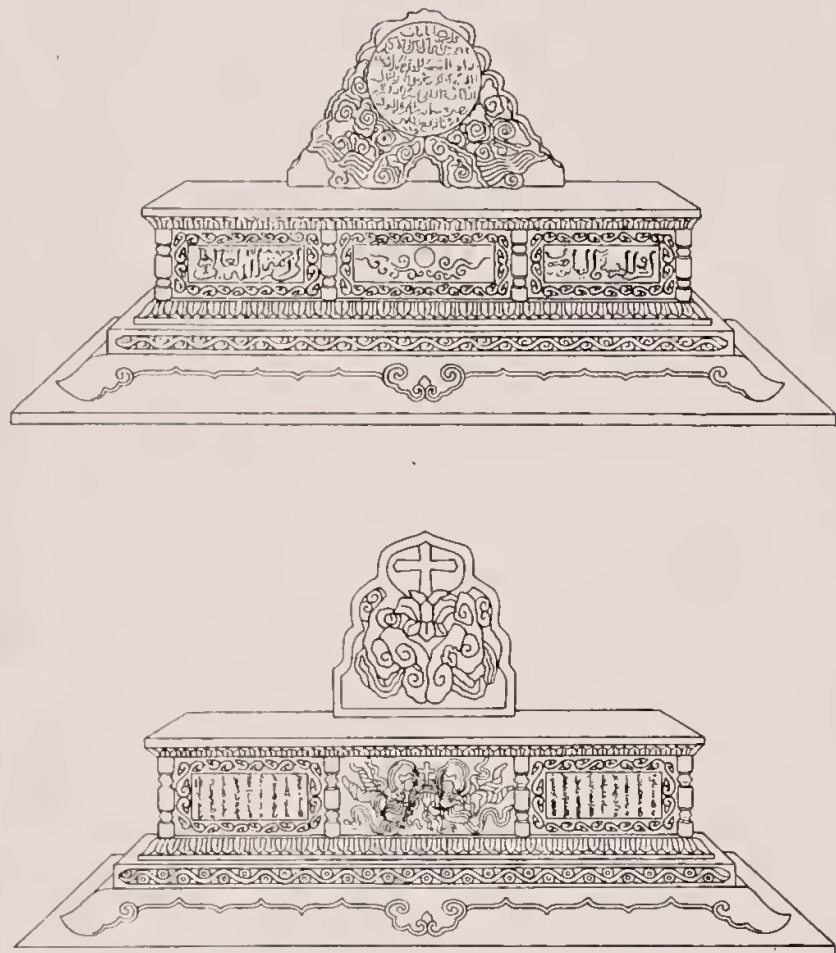


Fig. 1 Reconstruction by Wu Wen-hang of the so called Altar Type of Muhammedan and Christian Tombstones. Wu Wen-hang, *Illustrs.* 100-101; *Text.* 39-40

not be placed on a tombstone unless some device is made to fasten it to the latter. Wu's interpretation is possible, but it will not be justified until the existence of such a device is confirmed.

The second one is tombstones. One type of Christian tombstones unearthed so far consists of four five layers of stone (See *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, Pl. VI), of which the uppermost one is of a shape of house with cross carved on each end (Pl. I, fig. 2). The rest are flat square stones, one piled about the other, with decorations carved on four sides. One of the so-called Zaytun cross published by Emanuel Diaz seems to be representing this type of tombs as seen from the side on which the cross is carved.⁽⁷⁴⁾ No inscriptions are made on these stones. A Mohammedan tombstone of the similar type is shown here for comparison (Pl. II, fig. 1).

The third is also a part of tombstones of the type different from the above. This type of tombstones may be called the altar type, and, according to the reconstruction of Wu (cf. above p. 62), they consist of a pedestal, a flat top and a middle portion. Some fragments of the middle portion have been unearthed. They are either carved with a cross between two angels or with inscriptions in Syriac letters. Originally, the cross-carved part was placed at the centre between two parts with inscriptions. As is mentioned above, Wu is of the opinion that a stone slab carved with a cross was to be placed on the top.

These two types of tombstones show the close relationship between the Christian and Mohammedan tombstones and it is obvious that the former (Christian) copied the latter (Mohammedan) as this type of tomb is originally Mohammedan. In the case of tombstone of altar type, the Mohammedans placed a stone carved with "a moon with clouds underneath" at the centre of the middle part where the Christians put one carved with "a cross between the two angels". In the case of the house-shaped stone, the Christian one is carved with "a cross with flowers underneath", which the Mohammedan one with "a moon with clouds underneath." No tombstones of the Ongut type have ever been discovered in Ch'uan-chou.

The fourth one is another kind of stone with or without an epitaph. It is usually a large and thicker, square and flat piece of stone, of which the top is some time cut round. It may have been erected on another flat piece of stone which covered the deceased. Wu has published eleven stones of this kind with epitaph, seven of which have already been published by Foster. From the point of view of letters, these epitaphs are written in Chinese, P'ags-pa, Nestorian Syriac and Latin. Some of these epitaphs are yet to be deciphered, but, so long as what have been deciphered are concerned, Chinese and P'ags-pa letters are meant for the Chinese language, Syriac for either the Syriac or the Turkish and Latin for the Latin.

(74) Foster's Pl. VII represents tombstone with a cross on the first stone from the top and Arabic inscriptions on the second. However, these stones are assembled in a wrong way as we can see it from the discontinuity of ornamental designs between the first and second stone.

The decipherment of these epitaphs has revealed some interesting facts

(1) The Nestorians in Ch'uan-chiu of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries used the Trinitarian formula in Syriac.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This may mean that Syriac was used among them as the sacred language. This forms a contrast to that the Ongut of the same period did not use the Syriac language but only used Syriac letters to write their own language, that is to say, Turkish.

(2) Among these epitaphs, there are two which are bilingual. One is with the Trinitarian in Syriac on one side and five lines of inscriptions in Chinese characters on the other. The Trinitarian has been published by Foster, but the Chinese inscriptions have not.⁽⁷⁶⁾ According to the decipherment of Wu, the Chinese inscriptions say that it is the tomb of Wang Fou-tao who took service to the government of Yuan and died in 1349. Wang Fou-tao is obviously a Chinese name.

Another is an epitaph in memory of *Yō-lī-k'o-Weu* (Nestorian) *Ma-li Shī-lī mīn* (*Mar Shlemun*) and *a-pī ssu ku pa* (*Episcopi*) *Ma-li Ha-hsi ya* (*Mar Hasya*) by *Tieh mi tu Sao-ma* (David Sauma) and others on the 15th day of the 8th month of the 2nd year of Huang-ching (1313).⁽⁷⁷⁾ Mar Shlemun and Mar Hasya are titled the administrator(s) of Ming-chiao (i.e., Teaching of Brightness, that is, the Manichaeism) and Ch'in-chiao (i.e., Teaching of Ta ch'in, that is, the Nestorianism) in various districts of Chiang-nan (i.e., the region to the south of the Yang-tzu-chiang River). What is written in parallel in Syriac letters is, according to the decipherment of Shichirō Murayama⁽⁷⁸⁾, Turkish of the same phraseology as that of the Ongut tomb inscriptions. The name of *Ma-li Ha-hsi ya* appears in an inscription of 1281, quoted in the *Chih Shun Chên-Chuang chih*, Bk. 9, together with that of *Ma yih Shih li*, which is likely to be identified with *Ma-li Shī-lī mīn* of the epitaph and that of *ko pi ssu-hu*, which is identical with *a-pī-ssu-ku pa* of the epitaph.⁽⁷⁹⁾ These people are described as important Nestorian (priests) who were invited to the city of Chên-chiang where they stayed from 1277 to 1281 or later than that. The inscription states nothing about their native place, but it is likely that it was in Ongut or in some other place of Central Asia. As for David Sauma it is difficult to establish his nationality, but probably Chinese because of the Chinese inscriptions made under his name.

(75) See the decipherments published in Foster's article.

(76) *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, pl. XIV, p. 16; Wu WÊN-LIANG, Illustr. 77 (1, 2, 3); Text, pp. 31.

(77) Wu WÊN-LIANG, Illustr. 108, Text pp. 45-46. Wu states that the stone was unearthed from the Tung Wei gate in 1941 and was found in Tsin-t'an pu outside the Tung Wei Gate. But Chuang Wei-chi notes that it is (in 1954) in a pond in Chin-t'ui pu that and the inscriptions are in Chinese and in Mongolian (*K'an ku t'ung hsin*, 1956, 3, p. 46).

(78) Shichirō Murayama gave a talk on it at the Congress of Orientalists in Japan held in Tokyo, May, 1963.

(79) In *Chih Shun Chên-chuang chih*, *a-pī ssu ku pa* is written not as a title, but as a name of person.

Moreover, it is interesting that, this inscription shows that the Manichaeism and Nestorianism in South China were under the control of Nestorian priests. Wu identifies two tombstones with a cross carved between a canopy and a flower with Manichaean lines. One of these two is published in *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, Pl. X, and I am here reproducing another (Pl. III, fig. 1). But their Manichaean identity has no ground.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The reason is not known, but it may tell that it was one of the ways by which the Manichaeism survived the persecution of the Mongol government. It is also interesting to see that the Nestorianism was still called by such an archaic name as *Ch'in-chiao*.

(3) The epitaph in Latin has been proved to be that in memory of Andrew of Perugia of the Franciscan order and it has fixed that he died in 1332 in Ch'uan-chiu.⁽⁸¹⁾ Wu locates the site of the Franciscan church built by Andrew in a quarter called Sê-ts'o-wei, a graveyard situated outside the Eastern Gate of the city.⁽⁸²⁾

According to Wu, the ancient graveyards for foreigners are located in the suburbs to the east of Tung-huai-mên (South-Eastern gate of the map attached) and Tung-mên or Jên-fêng-mên (Eastern Gate of the map) (Pl. III, fig. 2). He divides the region into three main quarters: (1) the Chin-t'ui-pu quarter; (2) the Nan-chiao-ch'ang quarter; (3) the quarter outside the Tung-mên or Eastern Gate, which is subdivided into (a) the Hsia-ts'o-shan quarter, (b) the Sê-ts'o-wei quarter, (c) the Jên-fêng Street quarter, (d) the Sacred Tomb (of Mohammedan Saints) quarter and (e) the Tung yuan (Eastern Garden) quarter. And it is in the northern part of the Sê-ts'o-wei quarter where there was the graveyard for Christians, all other quarters being the graveyards for Mohammedans.⁽⁸³⁾ Unfortunately, no map detailed enough to understand his description is available. I am attaching here a very simple one which I copied from the article of Chuang Wei-chi (Map II). I hope that it will give the reader a rough idea of location of these graveyards.

(80) Wu WÊN-LIANG, Illustr. 109 and 110; Text, pp. 46-47.

(81) *JRAS*, 1954, 1/2, pp. 17-20; Wu WÊN-LIANG, Illustr. 75 (1, 2); Text, pp. 29, 30.

(82) Wu WÊN-LIANG, pp. 42-43. Wu reasons as follows: 1) In his letter of 1326 Andrew of Perugia writes that the beautiful church he has built is situated in a small pond which is of 250 m's distance from the Eastern Wall (or the Eastern part of the city) and the quarter of Sê-ts'o-wei is located at the same distance; 2) the tombstones with cross were mostly found from the north-eastern corner of the city wall, which is near Sê-ts'o-wei, and in Sê-ts'o-wei Wu found two tombstones with cross; 3) Wu found a blue tile for pavement in this quarter when he made a tomb for his family. The native people told him that formerly there existed a big building which was robbed and demolished by official soldiers of Ming and that tiles, stones and other materials turned up whenever they dug the ground to plant. But Chuang Wei-chi considers that the quarter named Sê-ts'o-wei was so named because it was formerly the graveyard of the Sê family (*K'an ku t'ung hsin*, 1956, 3, p. 44).

(83) See note (81). Chuang Wei-chi gives a statement somewhat different about the location of graveyards for foreigners. He divides it into five quarters: 1) Hsia-ts'o-shan, 2) Chin-ts'o-wei, 3) Sê-ts'o-wei, 4) Tung yieh and its neighbourhood, and 5) the neighbourhood of the Sacred Tomb, *K'an ku t'ung hsin*, 1956, 3, p. 44. But he, too, published no detailed map. Is the Chinese Communist Regime prohibiting to publish any detailed map?

Wu's investigation has made the following points clear:

(1) There had been quite a number of Christians in Ch'üan-chou in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; (2) these Christians consisted of Nestorians and Roman Catholics, of which the majority were Nestorians from the point of view of relics known to us so far; (3) the Ch'üan-chou Nestorian were different from the Ongut Nestorians in the sense they used Syriac as the sacred language, but some of the Ch'üan-chou Nestorians must have been the Ongut because they used the same Turkish language written in the same Nestorian Syriac letters as the Ongut Nestorians did; (4) the style and construction of tombstones of the Ch'üan-chou Christians was a copy of that of Mohammedans and it is different from that of Ongut Nestorians, except the cross, which is represented in a resembling way.

Wu's investigation has also made it clear that, besides the Christian remains, there are many other interesting and important things which remain to be studied. Remains of stone carvings of the Hindu Temple, inscriptions in South Indian (?) letters (Pl. II, fig. 2) and Chinese inscriptions of Sung, Yüan and Ming are just a few examples of them. But I have no time to refer to them. However, I would like to say a word about the Manichaean Temple, which still exists on the top of a mountain called Hua-piao-shan to the south of the city. A stone image of Mani (Pl. IV, fig. 1) with a halo behind him is enshrined in a temple also built of stone (Pl. IV, fig. 2) and a Chinese inscription erected near the temple states that the image was enshrined in the fifth year of Ch'ü yüan (1268) by a follower named Ch'ên ch'î tsê. The height of the image is 154 cm. and that of the halo is 168 cm. The halo is made of stone, too, but is gold-plated. Another Chinese inscription on a natural stone in front of the temple reads that this is the image of Mani, the Brilliant Buddha, who is the purest, brightest, strongest, wisest and surpassed by no others and the truest. The inscription is dated 1445.⁽⁸⁴⁾ The image is unmistakably that of Mani in the light of literary evidence of *Min-shu*, BK. 7, which is a local gazetteer of the province of Fu-chin.⁽⁸⁵⁾ It is rather fascinating to see the image of Mani of the thirteenth century still exist in its original shrine. However, according to Wu, Buddhist monks and laymen in Ch'üan-chou believe that it is not the image of Mani, but of Śakyamuni or Gautama Buddha, Mani being a corrupt form of Muni. No record is available as to the date of such a belief, but it may have been some time under the Ming. It was when the Ming unified China (1368) that the Manichaeism was again prohibited because of the name of Ming chiao (Teaching of Brightness) by which it was used to be called. The new government of Ming did not admit a religion

(84) WU WEN LIANG, *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45; Illustrs. 105-106. The same image and temple are described in *Wên wen siao kao tzu hao**, 1958, 8, p. 28, which corrects Wu's misreading of decipherment of inscriptions.

(85) The passage is quoted by WANG KUO-WEI, CH'ÊN YUAN and PELLIER (*TP*, XXII, 1923, pp. 193-208). See note (29).

of the name which is the same as that of the new dynasty.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Hence, the persecution. But it must have been just an excuse. Probably the truth was that the Ming believed that the Manichaeans were harmful for the consolidation of the new empire.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Anyway, that the image of Mani and its shrine in Ch'üan-chou survived the persecution will mean that the local belief to look upon the image as that of Buddha had existed as early as the beginning of Ming.

In Mediaeval China, there were several other international commercial centres besides Ch'üan-chou such as Canton, Ningpo, Hang-chou, and Yang-chou where there were foreigners and their communities.⁽⁸⁸⁾ And, just like in Ch'üan-chou, remains and sites concerning foreign inhabitants are expected to turn up in these cities. The discovery of two Latin epitaphs in memory of Antonio and Catarina respectively, who were the son and daughter of Domingo, from the walls of the city of Yang-chou⁽⁸⁹⁾ is one of its examples. (Pl. V). It is earnestly desired, therefore, that Chinese scholars would organize a systematic investigation to explore invaluable cultural remains of international relationship between China and other countries in Mediaeval period, which are expected to exist in these cities.

(3) THREE NEW NESTORIAN DOCUMENTS IN CHINESE

The discovery of Nestorian documents in Chinese from the grotto of Tun-huang created a new epoch in the study of Nestorian in Mediaeval China. These documents are the (*Ta-ch'in*) *Ching chiao san-wei ming-tu tsan* (90)

(86) *Min-shu*, Bk. 7, under Hua-piao-shan.

(87) Wu Han is of the opinion that the government of Ming prohibited the Manichaeism because the name of Ming was adopted from a Manichaean treaty. See Wu Han's article quoted in note (29).

(88) See KUWABARA, I and II.

(89) The epitaphs are in Latin and dated 1342 and 1344 respectively. The one dated 1342 was published and studied by FRANCIS A. ROULAN, S. J., *The Yangchow Latin Tombstone as a Landmark of Medieval Christianity in China*, *HJAS* 17, 1954, pp. 346-365. The other dated 1344 is published, together with the first one, by K'ENG CHIAN-T'ING, *Two Latin Tomb Inscriptions of the period of Yuan found from the city walls of Yang-chou* (in Chinese), *Kaogu*, 1963, 8, pp. 449-45.

(90) The (*Ta-ch'in*) *Ching-chiao san-wei ming-tu tsan* is identified by A. C. MOULE with the *Tun-huang Gloria in Excelsis Deo*, which he translated in to English with a bibliographical note. See MOULE, pp. 52-55, SAKKI, pp. 266-272; 71-73 (Chinese text). P. D'ELIA, *Fonti Riciane*, I, Roma 1942, pp. LVII-LVIII. By the way, SAKKI has published besides the *Christian Documents and Relics in China* (see abbreviation list) three books in Japanese. These are: 1) *Keikyô no Kenkyû* or *A Critical Study on Nestorianism*, Tokyo, The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 1937; 2) *Shina Kirisutokyo no Kenkyû* or *The History of Christianity in China*, 4 Vols., Tokyo, Shunjû-sha, 1943-1949. (The fourth volume is published under the title of *Shin-chô Kirisutokyo no Kenkyû* or *A Study of (the History of) Christianity under the Ch'ing*); and 3) *Chûgoku ni okeru Keikyô Subô no Rekishû* or *A History of the Decline of the Nestorianism in the Middle Kingdom*, Kyoto, Dôshisha University, 1955. In this article, references are made to the *Christian Documents and Relics in China* unless it is necessary to refer to these Japanese publications.

and *Tsun-ching*,⁽⁹¹⁾ the *Hsu t'ung-mi-shih su ching*,⁽⁹²⁾ *I shên lun*,⁽⁹³⁾ and *Chih-hsuan an-lo ching*,⁽⁹⁴⁾ (Pl. VI) all of which were published, translated and commented in the pre-war period. Among these three, it is the first two (written on the same sheet of paper) that were collected on the spot by P. Pelliot at Tun-huang, but the rest which are of unknown origin are also believed to have come from Tun-huang and their authenticity is beyond doubt.

After the war, another three documents have appeared. The first one is entitled *Ta ch'in ching chiao ta shêng t'ung-chên kuei-fa tsan* or the *Hymn to the Great, Sacred (and Merciful) Father Allah whose benevolence and power enable the believers to get the truth and obtain the law*. The second is the *Ta-ch'in ching chiao hsuan yüan chih pên ching* or the *Treaty to let one attain to the root (of Christianity) through the preaching on the origin (of the truth)*. The third one is named *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao hsuan-yüan pên ching*, which is generally believed to be of the same name as that of the second one, *pên* being an incomplete copy of *chih pên*.

The first and second documents had been in the library of Li Shêng-tu († 1935) who was well known for his collection of Tun-huang manuscripts. In 1943, that is to say, eight years after his death, these two documents were sold to Yasushi Kojima⁽⁹⁵⁾ who sent their photographs to Yoshirô Sasaki and Tōru Haneda. Sasaki first published their photographs and transliterations in his *Shin chō Kirisutokyo no Kenkyū* or *A Study on Christianity in China during the Ch'ing Period*, Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1949, Appendix, pp. 1-24. And two years later, he again published the same photographs, together with their English translations and commentaries, in the second edition of *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, Tokyo: Maruzen Co. Ltd., 1951, pp. 313A-314C. And for the third time, better photographs in *Chigoku ni Okeru Kōkyō Sōbō no Rekishi* or *A History of the Decline of the Nestorianism in the Middle Kingdom*, Kyoto: Dōshisha University, 1955. In 1951 Haneda pu-

(91) On the *Tsun ching*, see MUILE, pp. 55-57; SAKKI, 1951, pp. 273-280 (English translation and notes), 248-254 (bibliographical notes), 74-76 (Chinese text).

(92) The *Hsu t'ung-mi-shih su ching* was edited by I. HANEDA and reproduced in facsimile in 1931 by the Academy of Oriental Culture, Kyoto Institute. It was published together with the *I shên lun*. See HANEDA, pp. 240-269; MUILE, pp. 58-64; SAKKI, pp. 113-124 (bibliographical notes), 125-160 (English translation and notes), 13-20 (Chinese text).

(93) On the *I shên lun*, see HANEDA, pp. 235-239 and the facsimile reproduction edited by I. Haneda in 1931; SAKKI, 1951, pp. 113, 161-247 (English translation and notes), and 30-70 (Chinese text).

(94) The *Chih-hsuan an-lo ching* was published and studied by HANEDA, pp. 270-291 (see MUILE, p. 68), which was based on a copy of the text made by HANEDA and his friend at the Li Shêng-tu's in 1928. Later, Haneda obtained the photograph of the manuscript, which is partly published in Haneda, pl. 6. According to the photograph, Li Shêng-tu inscribed a note at the end of the manuscript, which runs as follows: "In autumn of the year *ping-ch'ün* (that is, 1916), Mr. Yu, who came back from Su-chow, presented this (manuscript) to me." This will suggest the Tun-huang provenance of the manuscript. The manuscript is catalogued in a list of Tun-huang manuscripts in the collection Li Shêng-tu. See *Tun-huang i ch'u tsung tsu so yin*, Peking, Commercial Press, 1962, p. 318.

(95) SAKKI, *Shin chō Kirisutokyo no Kenkyū*, p. *1.

lished his researches of these two documents on the basis of the photographs he got from Kojima in 1945 in a periodical named *Tōhō-gaku*, No. 1 (1951), pp. 1-11. The article is reprinted in the *Haneda Hakushi Shigaku Ronbunshū* or the *Collection of Dr. Haneda's articles on History*, II, Kyoto: Tōyō-shi Kenkyū-kai, 1958, pp. 292-307.

The *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao ta-shêng t'ung-chên kuei-fa tsan* (Pl. VII), which consists of 18 lines and 199 characters is divided into three parts: (1) the Hymn to the Great, Sacred and Merciful Father Allah, (2) Salutation to Yühan-nan (John), as well as to three Nestorian treaties, and (3) the colophon. The Hymn lying with the passage "Pious salutation to the Great, Sacred, and Merciful Father Allah; His figure is as brilliant as the sun and the moon; His virtuous influence is so high that it supercedes that of any other saints; His virtuous voice and its deep meaning is just like that of gold bell; and His religious benevolence widely covers hundred millions of soul; etc.". It is an adoration of Allah's figure, virtues, eloquence, benevolence and salvation. On the basis of the statement that "His figure is as brilliant as the sun and the moon," Sasaki identifies the hymn with that of the transfiguration of Christ, which has been celebrated on August 6 by the Nestorian Church. The Salutation to Yühan-nan (John) and to the three treaties is, according to Sasaki, a rubric or liturgical direction to the recitation of the three treaties, which was to take place after the recitation of the Hymn.⁽⁹⁶⁾ It goes as follows: "Pious salutation to Yühan-nan, the King of Law (Patriarch): recite one by one the *T'ien-pao-ts'ang ching* (*Treaty on the Treasure House of Heaven*), *To-hui shêng-wang ching* (*Treaty on the Sacred King David*) and *A-ssu* (for *wan)-ch'ün li lu (for *yung) ching (*Treaty on the Evangelhōn*). The colophon runs as follows: "So Yüan, believer at the Ta-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chow, collated and copied (this) to study the reading. Second day of the 5th month of the 8th year of K'ai-yuan (June 16, 720)". Unfortunately, the original manuscript was lost in China when Kojima was coming back to Japan and no one knows of its whereabouts.

The *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao hsuan yüan chih pên ching* (Pl. VIII) consists of 30 lines, of which the first and second lines are damaged and incomplete and the last two lines are colophon. Sasaki translates the title as the *Ta-ch'in Luminous Religion Sūtra on the Origin of Origins*. However, the title literally means "The Treaty to let one attain the root (of Christianity) through the preaching on the origin (of the truth)". Anyway, it is the final part of the treaty, which deals with neither the Origin of Origins nor the origin of the truth, but the nature and work of *tao* (way) which probably means the Christianity.

Haneda is so ingenious as to point out that some passages of this treaty are borrowed from the 62nd chapter of *Lao-tzu* and that the statement is a mixture of the main text and its commentaries.⁽⁹⁷⁾ For example, in line 3-4,

(96) As for the opinion of SAKKI, see *Shin chō Kirisutokyo no Kenkyū*, pp. *3-10.

(97) *Tōhō-gaku*, I, pp. 5-7 (= HANEDA, pp. 298-301).

the main text says, "The *miao-tao* or superior way would involve the *ao* or gist of all things," to which commentaries follow in line 4-5 to the effect that "the *hao* means the superior principle which comes into, and goes out of, everything, as well as the fundamental nature of all beings; and the *ao* means deep and unseen (existence)." Then, the main text goes on to say (line 5) that "it (the *miao-tao*) is also the home of all souls," to which commentaries follow in line 5-6. It seems that by mistake of the copyist the commentaries are confused with the main text. Haneda is quite right, though I myself am of the opinion that in some part what Haneda considers as commentaries could be looked upon as main text and vice versa. Anyway, in the light of Haneda's opinion, the English translation published by Sacki should be revised in several important points.⁽⁹⁸⁾

The colophon which follows the text reads: "On the 26th day of the 10th month of the 5th year of K'ai-yüan (December 7, 717), Chang Hsiang,⁽⁹⁹⁾ believer, copied (this) at the Ta-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chou."

The original manuscript of the second treaty, which belongs to Kojima, is now kept in the safe of the Dōshisha University Library in Kyoto. The photograph which Haneda received from Kojima in 1945 and published in *Tōhōgaku*, Vol. 1 (March, 1945) shows that a slip of paper is attached at the right side (that is to say, at the beginning) of the manuscript, with inscriptions of Li Shēng-to, which run as follows: "(Here is) *Ching-chiao hsüan yüan chih pên chung*, 30 lines, with the *men-hao* (name of the year) of K'ai-yüan. This is very rare and precious. I have found this in what was mounted at the back of a (Buddhist?) treaty. Actually, this is well worth treasuring." According to this note, the manuscript was discovered by chance by Li Shēng-to. However, it is very strange that Sacki says nothing about this slip of paper and that any photograph of the manuscript, which he published, too, shows no trace of it. In March 1963, by the courtesy of Professor Tomoo Uchida of the Dōshisha University I studied the original manuscript which is deprived of the slip in question. Sacki got the photograph at the end of 1943, that is to say, two years earlier than Haneda did. If the chronology given by Haneda and Sacki is right, the slip was attached to the manuscript some time between 1943 and 1945 and removed after 1945. As Li Shēng-to died in 1935, this will challenge the authenticity of inscriptions of the slip. In the meantime, Sacki also states that he got the photograph in 1947.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Then, the slip seems to have been removed some time between 1945 and 1947. If both Sacki and Haneda got the photographs in the same year (1945?), it is strange that one has got the slip and the other not. I have no means to identify the handwriting of Li Shēng-to but Haneda confirms that the inscriptions of the slip is undoubtedly of his.

(98) Not only the translation, but also the transliteration of the text made by Sacki is not accurate in some places. For the transliteration, see HANEDA, p. 296 (= *Tōhō-gaku*, I, p. 4).

(99) Sacki misreads the name Chang Chün. See SAEKI, p. 99 (Chinese text), and 313 D.

(100) SAEKI, p. 313 A.

In connection with these two documents, the most controversial points are the chronology and statement of their colophons. If they are reliable, they will disclose two which are quite new to the history of Nestorianism under the T'ang. The first is that the Nestorian temple had already been, called Ta-ch'in-ssu or Temple of (Ching-chiao which came from the country of) Ta-ch'in as early as A.D. 717, while it is generally believed that the Nestorian temple had been called Po-ssu-ssu or Temple of (the religion which came from the country of) Po-ssu (Persia) until the 9th month of the 4th year of T'ien-pao (October 4-November 1, 745) when it was renamed Ta-ch'in-ssu by an imperial edict.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The second is that there existed a Nestorian temple in Sha-chou (Tun-huang) in the period of K'ai-yüan, while no other evidence is available to support it. Sacki has identified Tun-huang as a part of the metropolitan Bishopric on some basis unknown to us,⁽¹⁰²⁾ but, still, there is no other evidence to prove the existence of a Nestorian temple there. But, before I deal with these questions, I shall describe the third document.

The third document which is entitled *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao hsüan-yüan* (*chih?*) *pên chung* is an unfinished copy of manuscript, consisting of 27 lines which are followed by a blank of some length. The first ten lines were published by Sacki, on the basis of a handwritten copy sent to him by Ch'ên Yüan then at the Catholic University in Peking, in the *Kenkyū no Kenkyū* or *A Critical Study on Nestorianism*, Tokyo: The Academy of Oriental Culture, Tokyo Institute, 1935, pp. 736-742 and an English translation in the *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 1st ed., 1937, pp. 312-313 which is reproduced in the 2nd ed. of 1951. The original manuscript was also in the possession of Li Shēng-to, of which no one knows the present whereabouts. Fortunately, a photograph of the whole of the manuscript is published in the second volume of *Haneda Hakushi Shigaku Ronbunshū* (Pl. IX), though Haneda never published his study on it except a few casual mentions.⁽¹⁰³⁾

(101) *T'ang hui-yao*, Bk. 49. See MOULLE, p. 65 and note (26). In the quotation of *T'ung-tien*, Bk. 121 under Sa-pao, the edict is dated the 7th month of the 4th year of T'ien-pao.

(102) Map II on the Diffusion of Nestorianism, which Sacki edited on the basis of 18 works of medieval authors, including Assenanc and Le Quien of the 18th century, to which I can not get access. (SAEKI, *Kenkyū no Kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1935, and SAEKI, 1937 [= 1951]) It is not clear if Tun-huang was a part of bishopric of Khumdam (Chang'an) under the T'ang or of Qanbalq (Peking) under the Yuan. It is Marco Polo who records the existence of Nestorian population in Sacuu (Sha-chou) at the end of the 13th century. (BENEDETTO, *Marco Polo II Milione*, p. 44). And among the twenty seven metropolitan sees in the list of Amrus (MOULLE, p. 21), as well as in the *History of Jaballaha III* (MONTGOMERY, p. 43; MOULLE, p. 103), there is one which was situated in Tankut. Tankut or Tangut was a general name of region which comprised Sha-chou, Su-chou, Kai-chou, Ling-chou, Hsü-ning and (Ssu-ch'uan) so on in the 13th and 14th centuries. If Amrus and the *History of Jaballaha III* mean that a Nestorian church existed in Sha-chou, we can not conclude that there was one at the time of T'ang.

(103) HANEDA, pp. 242, 270, 306.

It is generally believed that the second and third manuscripts form respectively the beginning and ending parts of the same treaty and that the lacuna between these two is yet to be found. The similarity of their title will support this belief, but the difference of their literary style and construction will not. The third treaty is a sermon, but the second treaty can not be looked upon as a concluding part of the same sermon both in its style and content. However, even if they are the part of the same treaty, they can not be the part of the same manuscript. As I have already mentioned, the manuscript of the third treaty is unfinished and followed by some length of blank, each line usually containing 18 characters, while the manuscript of the second treaty is obviously written by a different hand and each line usually contains 17 characters. Moreover, the manuscript of the third treaty, in which the character *chih* is not tabored,⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ seems to have been copied in or after 806 when the taboring of this character was released. *Chih* is the personal name of emperor Kao-tsung (649-683) and it had been tabored from 649, when Kao-tsung took the throne, up to 806.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ In the meantime, the colophon claims that the manuscript of the second document was copied in 717, no matter whether the colophon is authentic or not. So, from the point of view of the date, too, the second and the third document can not be a part of the same manuscript.

As I have mentioned above, the third treaty is a sermon delivered by Patriarch (*fa wang*) Ching-t'ung⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ at the Ho-ming-kung⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Palace or the Palace of Peace and Light at Na-sa-lo (Nazareth) of the country of Ta-ch'in to "the attendants gathered from seven parts (of the world) who consist of several Nestorian monks, kings of miraculous law, such as all kinds of spirit and heavenly being, countless number of enlightened people, and the people who believed in 365 kinds of heterodoxy." The sermon intends to explain "the two principles (*sh chieh*, literary means: two views) in order to clarify decisively the real origin of (truth of) the teaching (of Christianity)." According to the sermon, these two principles are the *hsuan-hua* and *chiang ti*. The *hsuan-hua* (literary, the supernatural creation) means the activities of creation⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ and the *chiang ti* (literally: the carpenter emperor or the greatest

(104) SAEKI, p. 100 (Chinese text) does not transliterate the character faithfully.

(105) CH'EN YUAN, *Shih-hui chü-shi*, ed. 1958, pp. 76-77.

(106) The same name appears in the *Tsun ching* (MOULF, p. 55). As to its identification, see SAEKI, *Kirikyô no Kenkyû*, p. 618 and 740-741, and SAEKI, 1951, pp. 273, 312, 313D. SaeKI identifies Tung-t'ung of the *Tsung-ching* with Mar Sergis and that of the *Hsuan-yuan* (*Chih*) with the Messiah or the Catholicus.

(107) In the Nestorian Inscription, the Heavenly Palace is named just Mung-kung or the Palace of Light (SAEKI, 1951, p. 55; MOULF, p. 37).

(108) The *hsuan-hua* is an abridged expression of *tsung hsuan-shu erh tsao-hua* of the Nestorian Inscription, which means "to hold the very key of the existence and create (everything)." Moule translates the passage into "holds the mysterious source of life and creates" (MOULF, p. 35) and SaeKI "holding the Secret Source of Origin" (SAEKI, 1951, p. 53).

carpenter) means the creatorship.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ However, it is not easy to understand the meaning of the sermon because of its phraseology which is extremely difficult and complicated. Usually, in the writings of Buddhism, this kind of sermon is concluded by saying that the attendants greatly enjoyed the sermon which they understood completely and retired. But, the second document which is generally believed to be final portion of the same treaty says nothing to this effect. This is one of the reasons why I can follow blindly the general opinion to see the second and third document as a part of the same treaty.

Now, I would like to discuss the date and authenticity of these three documents. First of all, from the point of view of the name Ta-ch'in and Ching-chiao, Chinese Nestorian documents now extant are divided into three groups. To the first group belong the *Hsü-tung ni-shi so ching* (*Treaty on Jesus the Messiah*) and *I-shên lun* (*Discourse on the Monotheism*), in which the mother country of Christianity is called Fu-lin (Frôm) and the name of Ta-ch'in and Ching-chiao never appears. The *Hsü-tung ni-shi so ching* states that the Christ was born in *Wu-h-shih-hien* (Jerusalem) of Fu-lin and the *I-shên-lun* calls the region where the Christianity was worshipped Fulin. The *I-shên-lun* was compiled in or around 641,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ which will also indicate the date of compilation of the *Hsü-tung ni-shi-so ching* which is closely related to the *I-shên-lun* in phraseology and terminology. To the second group belongs the *Chih-hsuan an-lo ching* (*Treaty on the True Happiness*), in which the name Ta-ch'in does not appear but the Nestorianism is called Ching-chiao. To the third group belong the *Ta-ch'in sau wei ming tu tsan* (*Gloria in Excelsis Deo*), as well as the three documents I am dealing herewith. In this group of treaties the Nestorianism is called *Ta-ch'in ching chiao* or Ching-chiao (Nestorianism) of the country of Ta-ch'in. So, in these documents the designation for the Nestorianism changed from the religion of Fulin into that of Ta-ch'in.

Ta-ch'in had been the Chinese designation of the Mediterranean Orient or what is now Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan, from the first or second century A.D.⁽¹¹¹⁾ down to the middle of the fifth century when it was replaced

(109) The word *chiang* means carpenter, but in the Nestorian Inscription the word is used a combined form such as *chiang ch'ing* or *chiang hua*, which means "to perfect" and "to create" respectively. So, *chiang ti* is used for the meaning of "the great creator" or "the creatorship".

(110) In the *I-shên-lun*, it is stated that only 641 years have passed since the appearance of the Messiah (SAEKI, 1951, p. 226, 66 [Chinese text]). See Haneda's Introduction to the facsimile reproduction of the *I-shên-lun*, p. 3.

(111) It was in A.D. 97 that Pan Ch'ao sent his official Kan Ying to Ta-ch'in (*Hou-Han-shu*, Bk. 88 under An-hsi or Parthia. See F. HIRTH, *China and the Roman Orient*, Shanghai and Hongkong, 1885, p. 98). This is the first appearance of the name Ta-ch'in. However, in the preface to Bk. 88, it is stated that Pan Ch'ao sent his official Kan Ying not to Ta-ch'in but to Hai-hsi or the region in the west of the sea. So, Ta-ch'in under A.D. 97 may be a later replacement for Hai-hsi. In the meantime, Chang Hêng writes in his *Tung-ching fu* or the *Poem in praise of Lo yang* that the benevolence of the emperor covers the world as

by Fu-lan or Fu-lin, which is for Frôm or Rome.⁽¹¹²⁾ According to the Nestorian Inscription, the Nestorian missionaries, who became acquainted with Chinese historical records, realized that Ta-ch'in had been looked upon as a sort of Utopian country by the Chinese and that it had been the civilized region where the people had worshipped the Christianity.⁽¹¹³⁾ In this way, the Inscription writes as if the Nestorianism was known as the religion of Ta-ch'in from 635 when it was introduced by A-lo-pên into China. But this is not the truth.

According to the chronicles of T'ang, the king of Fu-lin sent seven embassies to China in 643, 667, 701, 711, 719 (twice in the 1st and 4th month) and 742.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Among others, in 643 a king named Po-to-li, that is to say, Patriarch, sent an embassy and both in 719 (the 4th month) and in 742 came "monks of great virtue" as the representatives of the king of Fu-lin. This means that Fu-lin was another name of the Nestorian Church; its king must have been the Catholicos in Ctesiphon, and the Nestorian mission had been called the mission from Fu-lin up to 742. On the other hand, the Nestorian mission had also been called the mission from Persia. For instance, A-lo-pên is recorded as a monk of Persia and another Nestorian missionary named Chi-lich (Gabriel), who came to China for the first time in 714 or earlier than that and for the second time in 732, is also called a monk of Persia.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ These facts endorse the accuracy of the statement of the edict of 745 to the effect that the Nestorianism had been believed to have originated in Persia and

far as Ta-ch'in in the west (*Hsüan-t'ang-shu*, Bk. 3, fol. 18r, Taipei, 1955. Reprint of edition of 1811). As Chang Hsing lived from A.D. 58 to 139 (CHIANG LIANG-FU and T'AO CH'IU-YING, *Ta-tai-jên nua men li-pai ch'uan-t'ang-piao*, Peking, Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1950, p. 18), this will mean that the name Ta-ch'in had already been in use in his time.

(112) Fu-lan appears in the *Annales de Hsüan-t'ang*, under 456, 465 and 467 (P. PELLIOU, *Sur l'origine du nom Fu-lin*, *JA*, 1914, p. 498). Fu-lin appears for the first time in the *T'ang-chih-kung-t'u* which was compiled between 526 and 530 (*Tôhoku-gaku*, XXVI, 1963, pp. 31-46, especially p. 44. Also refer to B. LAUFER in *TP*, XVI, 1915, p. 203 note (2) and *The Diamond: a Chinese and Hellenistic Folklore*, Chicago, 1915, pp. 6 ff.).

(113) MOULLE, p. 40; SAEKI, pp. 58-59.

(114) The embassies in 643, 667, 701 and 719 are recorded in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* Bk. 198 under Fu-lin; the embassies in 711 and 742 in the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-k'uei*, Bks. 970 and 971. The embassy in the first month of 719 was the big chief of Tukharestân, who came as the representative of the king of Fu-lin. This means that (the Nestorian church in) Tukharestân was under the control of the king of Fu-lin. (The *T'ang-hui-yao*, Bk. 99, under Fu-lin, dates the embassy of Tukharestân not the 5th year of K'ai-yuan (719) but the 10th (722), but 10 is a scribal error for 7 in Chinese character. The *T'ang-shu*, Bk. 221b, *Ts'ê-fu yüan-k'uei*, Bk. 971 and the (*Chiu*) *T'ang-shu* quoted in *T'ai-ping huan-yü chi*, Bk. 975 record it as in 719. That no further embassies from Fu-lin are recorded in the annals of T'ang may be because of the establishment of the Abbâsid Caliphate in Bagdad in 750, which might forbid the Nestorian catholicos to intercourse with China as an independent sovereign. On this point, see K. SHIRAZI, *A New Attempt at the Solution of the Fu-lin Problem*, *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôkyô Bunko*, 19, 1956, p. 329.

(115) A-lo-pên is recorded as a monk from Persia in an imperial edict of 638 (*T'ang-hui-yao*, Bk. 40). See MOULLE, p. 65; SAEKI, p. 456 and so was Chi-lich (Gabriel) (*Ts'ê-fu yüan-k'uei*, Bks. 546 and 971) (KUWABARA, pp. 6-7; MOULLE, pp. 65-66; SAEKI, pp. 459-462).

called the religion of Persia up to that time. The Nestorian Inscription describes A-lo-pên and Chi-lich (Gabriel) as monk of Ta-ch'in, but, it is obviously the later correction. The Nestorian Inscription also states that a monk of great virtue, named Chieh-ho (George), came from Ta-ch'in in 744. However, this must also be the writer's correction just like the case of A-lo-pên and Chi-lich (Gabriel). So it was in 745 that the name Ta-ch'in was first used as the designation of the mother country of Christianity.

As to the name Ching-chiao, it does not appear either in the *Hsü-t'ung mi-shih-so ching* or in the *I-shên-lun*, both compiled around 641. The most authentic record in which the name appears is the Nestorian Inscription of 781 and it explains that the Nestorianism was named Ching-chiao or brilliant teaching because of its merits and use which are so manifest and splendid.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ As is well known, the Nestorian Inscription was written by Ching-ching who is also recorded as the compiler of thirty-five Chinese Nestorian treaties, catalogued in the *Tsun-ching* or *Treaty of Veneration*.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ The *Chih-hsian an-lo ching* is one of these thirty-five treaties. The identity of the authorship of the Nestorian Inscription and *Chih-hsian an-lo ching* is justified by the similarity of their phraseology and terminology, as well as of the Chinese transcription of the word: messiah (*mi shih-ho*). Seeing that the Nestorian Inscription uses the combined name Ta-ch'in ching-chiao, while the *Chih-hsian an-lo ching* only the single name Ching-chiao, it may mean that the later was written earlier than the former. Anyway, the appearance of the name Ching-chiao was some time between 641 and 781. And if we take into our consideration that the name Ta-ch'in was applied to the homeland of Christianity in 745, the appearance of combined name Ta-ch'in ching-chiao must have been after 745.

The titles of the three documents I am dealing herewith all start with Ta-ch'in ching-chiao, which makes us presume that they are of the period later than 745. And their style, phraseology and terminology which is so closely related to that of the Nestorian Inscription, will mean that they were written by the same author or by authors closely connected with each other. According to the catalogue in *Tsun-ching* or *Treaty of Veneration*, not only the *Hsüan-yüan chih-pêng ching*, but also the *T'ung-chên ching* is attributed to the compilation of Ching-ching. The *Hsüan-yüan chih-pên ching* is obviously the same as the *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao hsüan-yüan chih-pên ching* for the reason of the similarity of the name and *T'ung-chên ching* may be the same as the *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao ta-shing t'ung-chên kwei fa tsan*, just like the *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao san-wei ming-tu tsan* seems to be identical with the *San-wei tsan ching* of the catalogue.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ So, even if Ching-ching did not compile all these things by himself, it can not be denied

(116) MOULLE, p. 38; SAEKI, p. 56.

(117) MOULLE, p. 55; SAEKI, pp. 255-275, 274-257. Among these thirty-five, one is not Nestorian but Manichæan. See Ed. CHAVANNES and P. PELLIOU, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, *JA*, 1913, pp. 133-161.

(118) SAEKI, p. 256; HANEDA, p. 296.

that these were written by some author or authors closely related to Ching-ching. In other words, these three documents may be looked upon as the compilation of the latter half of the eighth century.

Now, the colophon to the first document claims that the manuscript was copied on the second day of the fifth month of the eighth year of K'ai-yuan (June 16, 720) by So Yuan,⁽¹¹⁹⁾ believer at the Tai-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chou. In the manuscript, the characters *min* (lines 7 and 8) and *chih* (line 7) are tabooed, the former being the name of T'ai-tsung and the latter that of Kao-tsung. As I have already mentioned, the character *chih* had been tabooed from 649 to 806, while the character *min* from 649 up to the end of the T'ang dynasty (907).⁽¹²⁰⁾ In the meantime, character *sung* (line 13) which is the personal name of emperor Shun (805) is not tabooed. As emperor Shun had been the crown prince from the end of 779 to 805, the taboo of the character should have started in 779. So, taking all these into our consideration, the manuscript is considered to have been copied between 649 and 779. This does not contradict the date of the colophon. However, the usage of the names of Tai-ch'in ching-chiao and Tai-ch'in-ssu Temple is an anachronism unless we admit that these names had been already in use in 720 in the region of Shachou or Tun-huang.

The same thing may be said about the colophon to the second document. It says that the manuscript was copied by Chang Hsiang, believer, at the Tai-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chou, on the 26th day of the tenth month of the fifth year of K'ai-yuan (December 7, 717). And no other evidence is available to support the existence of the name Tai-ch'in ching-chiao and Tai-ch'in-ssu Temple in Tun-huang in 717.

From the textual point of view, there are four characters in the manuscript, which are identical with the names of one emperor and three members of the imperial family. These characters are *ping* (lines 5 and 10) which is the name of the father of the first emperor Kao-tsu (618-626); *ch'êng* (line 5) which is a part of the name (*Chen ch'êng*) of the crown prince of emperor Kao-tsu, *hêng* (line 15) which is the personal name of the 12th emperor Mu-tsung (820-824); and *hung* (line 17) which is the name of the crown prince of Kao-tsung (649-683). None of these characters are tabooed in the manuscript.

As the personal name of emperor was used to be tabooed during his own reign, as well as during the reign of seven emperors who followed him, the character *hêng* should have been tabooed from 820, when Mu-tsung took the throne, to 888, when the taboo was to be released by emperor Chao-tsung's enthronement.

(119) So is one of the commonest names which appear in the Tun-huang manuscripts. See L. A. L. S., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the British Museum*, London, 1957, p. 295b.

(120) The character *min* is tabooed in the Chinese Classics inscribed on stones in 837, but I can not produce an inscription or writing in which the character is tabooed after 837. However, theoretically it should have been tabooed up to 907, the end of the T'ang Dynasty.

As for the characters *ch'êng* and *hung*, no evidence is available to prove that they were tabooed under the reign of Hsüan-tsung (712-756) or not. However, there is a strong reason to believe that the character *hung* ought to have been tabooed in that period. According to the biography of Prince Hung, the fifth son of emperor Kao-tsung, he was installed as Crown Prince in 656 and died a premature death in 657 at the age of twenty four. He was very much lamented by his father emperor who entitled him Hsiao-ching-huang-ti or the Emperor of Filiality and Respect and held his funeral according to the ceremony for a deceased emperor. He was enshrined in T'ai-miao or the Imperial Mausoleum and had been worshipped as the late emperor during the reign of Ching-tsung (683-710) and Jui-tsung (710-712). It was in 718 that he was removed from the Imperial Mausoleum. Since then he was dealt with as a late crown prince.⁽¹²¹⁾ Under the circumstances, it is quite likely that his personal name had been tabooed from 656 up to 718.

As to the character *ping*, it was usually replaced by the character *ching*. Among the T'ang inscriptions which are edited and published in the *Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* of Wang Ch'ang and its *Supplementary Volume*,⁽¹²²⁾ there are sixteen inscriptions in which the character *ping* is or is to be used. Among these sixteen, four inscriptions do not taboo the character, while the rest replace it with the character *ching* (of Ching-chiao). The sixteen inscriptions cover the period from 680 to 780 and the four are of 736, 643, and 776. In the inscription of 743, both characters *ping* and *ching* are used, if the edition is reliable. And I can add another example in an inscription of 780, in which *ping* is replaced by *ching*.⁽¹²³⁾ Seeing that the character *ping* is never tabooed in the Chinese classics inscribed on stones by the Imperial order in 837, the taboo had already been released by that time. Actually, in the manuscript of the second document, *ping* is a scribal error of *po* which means "hundred" and it reads *ping-lung* or brilliant souls instead of *po-lung* or hundred souls. This error is repeated twice. As the tabooing of character or characters identical with the name of emperor or crown prince or important imperial family started in the time of Kao-tsung (649-683), the character *ping* which is a part of the personal name of Kao-tsung's great-grand father, should have been tabooed from the middle of the seventh century up to some time between 789 and 837. However, as the inscriptions show, the character was sometimes tabooed and sometimes not.

In this way, from the point of view of the period when the characters *hêng*, *hung* and *ping* had been tabooed, we may fix the date of the manuscript of the second document either as between 718 and 820, if we neglect the taboo of the character *ping*, or as after 888, if we apply strictly the rule of tabooing to the character *ping*. Both of these dates can not be reconciled with the

(121) *Chin-T'ang-shu*, Bk. 86 (pp. 766-767 of the Po-na-pien in our volume).

(122) The lithographic edition of 1919.

(123) A riddling of the funeral inscription of queen Cheng, wife of Li Ch'i entitled King Ssü-ts'ao, in the collection of the Tōyō Bunko (the Oriental Library).

chronology of the colophon which claims that the manuscript was copied December 7, 717.

Moreover, here is another point which will make the date of the colophon more disputable. If the *Ta-ch'in ching-chiao hsuan yuan chih-pên chung* with the colophon of 717 and the *Ta-ch'in ching chiao ta shêng t'ung-chên kuei fu t'ian* with the colophon of 720 were compiled by Ching-ching as is stated in the postscript to the catalogue of *Tsun-ching*,⁽¹²⁴⁾ and if this Ching-ching was the same person as Ching-ching who wrote the Nestorian Inscription in 781, it will mean that he wrote the Nestorian Inscription at the age of nearly ninety, if we presume that he wrote the above two treatises at the age of twenty-five. Ching-ching also translated a Sanskrit text of *Lu-po-lo-mi ching* (Sātpāramitā) into Chinese in collaboration with Pan-la-jū (Prajña) in the second year of Chêng-yüan (786) or later than that,⁽¹²⁵⁾ which may mean that he was engaged in the translation work at the age of ninety-four or so. As Handeda has already pointed out,⁽¹²⁶⁾ it will be not impossible, but quite unlikely.

In short, the date of the colophons of the two documents can not be justified at the present stage of our knowledge. The reasons are as follows: (1) There is no other evidence to prove that the Nestorianism was known as the religion of Ta-ch'in as early as 717 or 720; (2) No other evidence, too, to prove the existence of Ta-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chou or Tun-huang at that period; (3) the anachronism of the date of the colophon of the second document (717) in the light of the rule of tabooring of some characters in the texts; and (4) the close relationship in phraseology and terminology of these documents with that of the Nestorian Inscription of 781 will indicate that they were written around the same period as the Nestorian Inscription, even if they were not written by the same author.

However, apart from the colophon, we can not deny the genuine Nestorian nature of these documents. The very confusing style of the second document and the very difficult construction of the third one are rather exceptional among the Chinese Nestorian documents hitherto known, which are much less difficult to understand. Still, it is of no doubt that both of them are Nestorian.

(124) The postscript to the *Tsun-ching*, which ascribes to Ching-ching the compilation of thirty-five treatises, is taken as authentic by MOULE (p. 57, note ⁽⁶⁶⁾) though he considered that it was written by a different hand from that of the *Gloria in Excelsis Deo* and the list of persons and books. On the other hand, SAEKI (p. 279 and 280) rejects the view of Moule to insist on the identity of the hand and tries to establish that the manuscript including the postscript was copied in a period later than the Tang for the reason that the name Tang is written in the postscript just as Tang and not as the Great Tang. HANEDA (pp. 302-303) agrees with Saeki's opinion with some reservation. I myself am of the opinion that there are many examples of inscriptions of Tang, in which the Tang is written just Tang and not the Great Tang, and so Saeki's criticism does not make much sense. There is no obstacle to look upon both the text and postscript as written at the end of the Tang period by the same hand.

(125) MOULE, pp. 67-69; SAEKI, 1951, pp. 466-470.

(126) HANEDA, p. 302.

Then how can we reconcile the texts of genuine nature with the colophons of dubious authenticity? One plausible explanation is that the colophons were intentionally antedated for such a purpose as to date back the (pretended?) origin of the Ta-ch'in-ssu Temple in Sha-chou as early as the period of K'ai-yüan. According to the Nestorian Inscription, the Nestorianism in China was declining both in Lo yang and in Chang-an at the end of the era Shêng-li (698-700) and at the beginning of the era Hsien-t'ien (712-713), that is to say, at the end of the seventh century and at the beginning of the eighth, that is to say, just before the period of K'ai-yüan. This was because of severe criticism against the Nestorianism from the side of Buddhists and Taoists, who were both patronized by the empress Wu (684-705). To meet the situation, the Head-Priest (or Archdeacon) Lo-han (Abraham) and the monk of great virtue (or Bishop) Chi-lieh (Gabriel) were sent to China. Gabriel was already in China in 714. Their efforts resulted in the re-enforcement and revival of Nestorianism which became once more prosperous in the period of K'ai-yüan under the patronage of emperor Hsüan-tsung. In this sense, in the history of Nestorianism in China, the period of K'ai-yüan was memorable as an epoch of revival. I wonder if the writers of the colophons tried to emphasize the importance of the K'ai-yüan period, and if it was the reason why the colophons were dated fifth (717) and eighth (720) years of K'ai-yüan respectively. However, this is just a speculation. No final solution may be possible until new evidence has been produced, which will either completely deny the authenticity of the colophons or fully justify it.

ÜBER DIE NESTORIANISCHEN GRABINSCHRIFTEN IN DER INNEREN MONGOLEI UND IN SÜDCHINA

Shichiro MURAYAMA, Tokyo

Desmond Martin hat in *Monumenta Serica*, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking, Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1938, einen sehr wichtigen Aufsatz « Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kuei-Hua, Suiyuan » veröffentlicht. In diesem Aufsatz sind ein Grabstein mit ziemlich gut erhaltenen Inschrift in syrischer Schrift, der in der Nähe von Derriseng Khutuk gefunden wurde, und sieben Grabsteine, die in Wang-Mu gefunden wurden, beschrieben. Auf dem ersten, dritten, vierten, sechsten und siebenten dieser sieben Grabsteine sind Inschriften in syrischer Schrift geschrieben. Von diesen fünf ist nur die erste gut erhalten und lesbar. D. Martin zeigt in seinem Aufsatz die Photographie dieser Inschrift. Ein Mukhor Soborghon hat er auch einen Grabstein gefunden, der aber keine Inschrift enthält.

Der bekannte japanische Forscher des Nestorianismus in China, Y. Saeki, hat in seinem Aufsatz « Über die nestorianische Ruine in der Nähe von Pailing

ŒUVRES POSTHUMES DE PAUL PELLIOU

RECHERCHES SUR LES CHRÉTIENS
D'ASIE CENTRALE
ET D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT

ed. J. Dauvillier & L. Hambis

I

En marge de Jean du Plan Carpin

II

Guillaume de Rubrouck

III

Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ, Rabban Şaumâ
et les princes Öngüt chrétiens

PARIS

IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE

1973

MÀR YA(H)B^HALLÀHA, RABBAN ŞÀUMÂ ET LES PRINCES ÖNGÜT CHRÉTIENS

[James A. Montgomery, *The History of Yaballaha III, Nestorian Patriarch, and of his vicar Bar Sauma, Mongol ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the end of the thirteenth Century*, translated from the Syriac and annotated, New York, Columbia University Press, 1927, in-8°, 4 f. n. ch. + 82 pages; \$ 2.00. Fait partie des *Records of civilization, Sources and Studies*, édités sous la direction du Prof. Austin P. Evans.

Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The monks of Kûblâi Khân Emperor of China or the History of the life and travels of Rabban Şâwmâ, envoy and plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khâns to the Kings of Europe, and Marḳos who as Mâr Yahbhallâhâ III became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia*, translated from the Syriac, Londres, The religious tract Society, [1928,] in-8°, xvi + 335 pages, avec 16 planches; 12 sh. 6 d.]

Les premières informations sur l'*Histoire de Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ et de Rabban Şaumâ* parurent en 1885 à Ourmiah et aux États-Unis, mais l'ensemble du texte ne devint accessible que par l'édition complète du texte syriaque publiée par le P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha patriarche et de Rabban Çauma*, Paris, 1888, puis par la traduction française de l'abbé Chabot parue dans les t. I et II de la *Revue de l'Orient latin* en 1893-1894; le tirage à part, en volume, porte la date de 1895. Vers la fin de 1895, le P. Bedjan publiait une deuxième édition syriaque qui présentait plusieurs leçons améliorées, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïcs nestoriens*, Paris-Leipzig, 1895. L'abbé Chabot en prit occasion pour faire paraître dans le t. IV de la *Revue de l'Orient latin* un article additionnel de 8 pages qui utilise d'ailleurs surtout des documents d'autre origine. Avant et après le travail de Chabot, des notices ont été consacrées à l'ouvrage par divers orientalistes, mais la traduction de l'abbé Chabot était devenue introuvable et d'ailleurs la plupart des orientalistes de langue anglaise ignoraient même qu'elle existât. On a donc

salué avec joie l'apparition successive de deux traductions nouvelles fondées sur la deuxième édition du P. Bedjan et dues l'une à un professeur américain, l'autre à un orientaliste anglais ⁽¹⁾.

A l'épreuve, notre joie se tempère de regrets. Le travail de M. Montgomery est fait sérieusement, mais ne porte que sur une moitié du texte original, et il y a par ailleurs bien des faiblesses dans l'annotation. Quant à l'ouvrage de Sir W. Budge, il est complet, mais singulièrement hâtif et fautif. De tout cela, nous n'aurons que trop de preuves à citer au cours de cet article. Ces deux publications n'en donnent pas moins une bonne occasion de « faire le point » de ce que nous savons, et d'ailleurs l'une et l'autre, sans remplacer l'ouvrage de l'abbé Chabot, ne laissent pas de fournir parfois un contrôle utile pour sa version ou pour ses notes ⁽²⁾.

On connaît le thème général du livre : deux chrétiens nestoriens nés dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, l'un à Pékin, l'autre pas très loin de Pékin décident de se rendre en Mésopotamie et aux Lieux Saints; retenus par les circonstances en Mésopotamie, l'un d'eux a l'invraisemblable fortune d'être élu patriarche des Nestoriens sous le nom de Ya(h)b^hallâhâ III ⁽³⁾; quant à son compagnon, le roi mongol de Perse l'envoie en mission à Byzance, à Rome, à Paris, en Gascogne; les voyages

⁽¹⁾ MM. Montgomery et Budge sont bien informés de l'histoire même du texte, mais ni l'un ni l'autre n'ont connu l'existence des deux articles supplémentaires publiés en 1896-1897 par Chabot (cela résulte de la p. 6 de Sir W. Budge et de la façon dont M. Montgomery parle de la biographie due à Šliba et de l'article de Siouffi à la p. 20, n. 8). M. Moule a rendu compte du livre de M. Montgomery dans *J.R.A.S.*, 1928, 448-453.

⁽²⁾ Aucune des traductions ne donne les noms propres en écriture syriaque; toutefois les transcriptions de Sir W. Budge sont plus rigoureuses que celles dont Chabot avait dû se contenter par insuffisance de ressources typographiques.

⁽³⁾ [Ya(h)b^hallâhâ signifie « Dieu a donné » et a été fréquemment employé comme nom d'homme chez les Nestoriens — il l'est encore de nos jours; il correspond à *Deusdedit* dans l'Occident latin, nom qui a été illustré au XI^e siècle par le cardinal Deusdedit, qui vécut auprès de Grégoire VII et d'Urbain II et écrivit une collection canonique pour promouvoir la réforme grégorienne; cf. P. Fournier et G. Le Bras, *Histoire des collections canoniques en Occident*, t. II, Paris, 1932, p. 37-53. Dans la langue romane, *Deusdedit* a donné au Moyen Âge les formes Dausdet, Dauzde (*Comptes consulaires d'Albi*), puis Daudé en Dauphiné et Daudet en Languedoc et en Provence; A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, Paris, 1951, p. 177. On peut rapprocher de ce nom Deodatus, Dieudonné, qui a subsisté comme prénom français; mais ce dernier est au passif, alors que Ya(h)b^hallâhâ a un sens actif qui s'accorde avec les tendances des

langues sémitiques. Le *hé* qui appartient à la racine du mot *ya(h)b^h*, « a donné », ne se prononce pas. En syriaque classique, le *lâmad* du terme *'Allâhâ*, « Dieu » est redoublé, alors qu'il a cessé de l'être dans la prononciation des Chaldéens actuels. A la fin du XIII^e siècle, dans la prononciation orientale, le *bêta* aspiré avait déjà la valeur du *w* (= ou consonne) qu'il a de nos jours. C'est ce dont témoignent les Registres des Papes, qui transcrivent *Yaulaha*; *Bullarium franciscanum*, t. IV, p. 10, n. 10. De même, dans les inscriptions du Semiréçé, *Š'libâ*, « la croix », employé comme nom de personne, est écrit *Š'ltwâ* avec un *waw* au lieu du *bêta* — ce qui atteste que cette prononciation était également répandue en Asie centrale. Nous gardons la transcription classique *Ya(h)b^hallâhâ*. La transcription phonétique serait *Yawalâhâ* (les deux derniers *a* ont le même timbre obtus) ou *Yawalâhâ*; cette dernière correspond à la prononciation actuelle des Assyriens du Kurdistan et des Chaldéens de la Mésopotamie.] (J. D.)

Sur la destinée de Marqûs, qui fut sacré en 1280 par le patriarche Denhâ métropolitain de Catai et d'Ong, c'est-à-dire de la Chine du Nord et des Ongûts, sous le nom de Ya(h)b^hallâhâ, ne put gagner sa lointaine province et fut élu en 1281 « catholicos patriarche de l'Orient » (tel est le titre que portait celui que les Byzantins et les Jacobites qualifiaient de patriarche des Nestoriens — alors que ses fidèles se disaient seulement « chrétiens », *kristiânê* ou « Syriens », *Sûrâyê*), E. Tisserant, *Nestorienne (l'Église)*, *Dictionnaire de Théologie catholique*, t. XI, 1931, col. 211-224. On y trouvera, outre l'histoire du patriarcat de Ya(h)b^hallâhâ III, le

de Rabban Şaumâ sont une magnifique contrepartie de ceux de son contemporain Marco Polo. Sans vouloir étudier ici toutes les questions que soulève le livre, ce qui équivaldrait à en donner une nouvelle édition, je voudrais tenter de préciser quelques points spéciaux, à savoir l'origine de nos deux moines, la date de leur voyage de Chine en Mésopotamie et les étapes de leur itinéraire et reprendre ainsi l'histoire des Öngüt chrétiens.

Au cours de cette enquête, nous devons nous rappeler que, selon toute vraisemblance, le texte qui nous est parvenu n'est pas, pour la partie qui nous occupe, la rédaction originale. Ce texte actuel peut être divisé en trois parties : la première raconte la jeunesse des deux moines, leur voyage de Chine en Mésopotamie et l'élection de Mâr Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ III; la deuxième est le récit du voyage accompli en Europe par Rabban Şaumâ; la troisième va du retour de Rabban Şaumâ à la mort de Mâr Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ III. Or, à la fin de ce que j'appelle la seconde partie, l'auteur de la présente compilation dit (Bedjan, p. 86, trad. Chabot, p. 93-94) : « Comme nous ne nous sommes pas proposé de raconter ou de transcrire tout ce que Rabban Şaumâ a fait ou a vu, nous avons omis beaucoup de ce qu'il avait écrit lui-même en persan ⁽¹⁾; et parmi les choses que nous avons citées ici, les unes sont plus abrégées, les autres moins, selon que les circonstances l'exigeaient. » Ainsi, et tout le monde est d'accord là-dessus, le récit syriaque du voyage de Rabban Şaumâ en Europe est abrégé d'un récit plus considérable que Rabban Şaumâ lui-même avait écrit en persan. Mais en est-il de même pour la première partie? Si nous nous rappelons que celle-ci porte également sur des faits que Rabban

récit de la mission de Rabban Şaumâ en Occident, où il reçut à Rome la communion de la main de Nicolas IV et rencontra à Paris le roi de France Philippe le Bel et en Gascogne le roi d'Angleterre Édouard I^{er}. Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ III conclut l'union avec l'Église romaine, ce dont témoigne sa correspondance avec Nicolas IV et Benoît XI, comme l'a établi Son Éminence le cardinal Tisserant. C'est bien vainement qu'A. R. Vine, *The Nestorian Churches*, Londres, 1937, p. 152-153, a tenté de contester ce point. Du reste, ce patriarche ne partageait nullement les doctrines nestoriennes et défendit les missionnaires latins qui combattaient les théories de Nestorius, comme en témoigne Ricoldo de Monte Croce.

M. Jean Richard montre que c'est à tort que Chabot a contesté l'exactitude des lettres de Nicolas IV qui reconnaissaient l'autorité du patriarche sur tous les chrétiens orientaux. Il pense qu'il a réellement existé deux bulles qui confirmaient expressément Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ III dans sa dignité de patriarche, comme Rabban Şaumâ dans celle de « visiteur », *sâ'ôrâ*. Elles avaient accompagné l'envoi de la mitre et de l'anneau que le pape avait lui-même portés et qu'il destinait au catholico — présents qui signifient clairement la reconnaissance de la juridiction. Ce n'est pas le seul cas où on avait omis de transcrire les bulles sur les

registres de chancellerie. Le Souverain Pontife avait en effet procédé de même vis-à-vis du catholico de l'Arménie, comme du patriarche des Maronites; J. Richard, *La mission en Europe de Rabban Şaumâ et l'union des Églises*, *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, XII convegno « Volta » promosso dalla Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Rome, 1957, p. 162-167; cf. aussi *Les missions chez les Mongols aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, dans *Histoire universelle des missions catholiques*, t. I, Paris, 1956, p. 192-193.

C'est à l'instigation de Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ III que fut réalisée la codification du droit de l'Église chaldéenne par le grand canoniste 'Ab^Hdišô' bar Berik^Hâ, qui a rédigé son *Épître des canons synodaux*, puis *Les règles des jugements ecclésiastiques*. Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ mourut à Maragha, où il faisait sa résidence habituelle, le 15 novembre 1317. Rabban Şaumâ l'avait précédé dans la tombe le 10 janvier 1294.] (J. D.)

⁽¹⁾ Sir W. Budge traduit aussi (p. 197) par « we have abridged very much », et dès 1889 Rubens Duval (*J.A.*, 1889, I, 323) comprenait de même, mais M. Montgomery (p. 73) a « we have somewhat abbreviated »; bien que la nuance soit différente, ce qui nous importe surtout ici est le fait même de l'abrégé.

Şaumâ ou Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ pouvaient seuls conter, et que, de son propre aveu, Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ ignorait lui-même le syriaque, nous concluons, je crois, que la remarque de l'abrégiateur syriaque vaut pour toute la portion de l'*Histoire* qui précède cette remarque, c'est-à-dire pour la période du séjour des deux moines dans la Chine du Nord et celle de leur voyage de Chine en Mésopotamie, tout comme pour celle du voyage de Rabban Şaumâ seul en Europe⁽¹⁾. On verra que l'existence d'un original persan pour toute cette première partie jouera un rôle dans notre discussion.

La première question qui se pose est de savoir qui étaient ces chrétiens nés dans la Chine du Nord; le texte de l'*Histoire* ne parle pas de leur nationalité⁽²⁾. Dans un article *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* publié par le T'oung-Pao en 1914 (p. 623-644)⁽³⁾, j'ai dit que Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ III tout au moins devait être un Öngüt, ou, comme les Chinois disaient également, un « Tatar blanc »; les Öngüt vivaient au voisinage de la Grande Muraille, et leur principal centre était à l'angle nord-est de la grande boucle du Fleuve Jaune. Par ailleurs la biographie arabe nestorienne de Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ le donne comme un « Turc » qui est venu du Hatâ (Cathay, Chine du Nord)⁽⁴⁾. [Dans un mêmra en l'honneur de Ya(h)b^hallâhâ III, inséré dans l'évangélaire écrit en 1295 pour l'église de Karméleš par l'évêque 'Ab^hdišô', il est dit que ce patriarche est originaire « du pays des Turcs » : *men 'at^hrâ Tûrkâyê* ⁽⁵⁾.] (J. D.) La Chronique ecclésiastique jacobite de Bar Hebraeus (en syriaque) parle de nos deux moines comme de « Yag^hûrâyê », c'est-à-dire de

⁽¹⁾ Je ne vois pas que l'abbé Chabot ou M. Montgomery expriment une opinion sur ce point, mais Sir W. Budge (p. 5) est du même avis que moi.

⁽²⁾ Le préambule de l'ouvrage, dans la traduction de l'abbé Chabot (p. 7), paraît dire que les deux moines étaient des Turcs orientaux, mais M. Budge (p. 120) fait de « Turcs orientaux » un génitif dépendant de « visiteur général » [La difficulté tient au texte même, tel qu'il est encore donné dans la 2^e édition de Bedjan : *Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ qat^hôlîqâ pâtriarkîs d^hmad^hen^hâ Rabban Şaumâ sâ^hôrâ Tûrkâyê mad^hen^hâyê*. Il est peu vraisemblable que l'auteur anonyme ait voulu faire de « Turcs orientaux » une apposition aux deux noms, suivis de leur titre : « Mâr Ya(h)b^hallâhâ, catholicos patriarche de l'Orient » et « Rabban Şaumâ, visiteur » — comme Chabot le traduit littéralement. Il est plus vraisemblable que le copiste a omis le *dâlat^h* qui rendait le génitif devant Tûrkâyê, « visiteur des Turcs orientaux », comme le comprend Budge.] (J. D.)

⁽³⁾ Cet article de 1914 fut écrit rapidement et sans références, à la veille de la guerre, pour consigner à tout hasard un certain nombre de résultats auxquels j'avais abouti; il s'y est glissé quelques erreurs que je corrigerai ici.

⁽⁴⁾ Chabot, *Supplément*, tirage à part, p. 5; Montgomery, p. 21.

⁽⁵⁾ [Ce mêmra a été découvert et publié par le P. Vosté, qui avait trouvé cet évangélaire dans l'église paroissiale de Karméleš, à six heures environ à l'Est de Mossoul. L'auteur en est probablement cet évêque 'Ab^hdišô', qui copia l'évangélaire; ce nom est fréquent chez les Chaldéens et nous ne pouvons savoir quel siège épiscopal ce personnage occupait. Dans cette composition heptasyllabique, cadencée et rimée, il décerne au catholicos de grands éloges et témoigne de la sensation qu'avait produite en ce temps l'élévation sur le siège patriarcal d'Orient d'un étranger venu de cette lointaine contrée. Parmi les formules stéréotypées, empruntées aux Écritures et les épithètes pompeuses, chères aux Orientaux, on reconnaît quelques traits de la physionomie de Ya(h)b^hallâhâ III : sa piété, sa bonté, son courage, son sens de la justice, le goût qu'il avait pour les constructions : « Il fonde églises et écoles, bâtit des couvents et des monastères. » En citant les couvents et les églises que ce patriarche fonda ou restaura, l'auteur du mêmra complète quelques points de son histoire. Il qualifie le catholicos de « lumière de l'orthodoxie » — ce qui témoigne que cet évêque avait bien accueilli l'union conclue avec l'Église romaine, qu'il ne pouvait ignorer; J. M. Vosté, *Memra en l'honneur de Iahballaha III, Le Musée*, t. XLII, (cahiers 3 et 4), 1929, p. 168-176.] (J. D.)

« Ouigours », en glosant ce nom par celui même de Tûrkâyê, « Turcs » ⁽¹⁾. Les Ouigours vivaient loin de Pékin, dans la région de Tourfan, en plein Turkestan chinois, et ont toujours parlé turc; mais est-il admissible que des contemporains informés aient qualifié de « Turcs » et surtout de « Ouigours » des gens dont l'un et peut-être tous les deux auraient été des Öngüt?

Une hypothèse en apparence assez naturelle serait de supposer que nos deux moines étaient des Ouigours dont les familles avaient été transplantées du Turkestan chinois, l'une à l'angle nord-est de la boucle du Fleuve Jaune, l'autre à Pékin. Mais les chrétiens étaient une minorité chez les Ouigours, et ce serait un hasard singulier que, de cette minorité chrétienne, deux familles fussent allées se fixer en des points différents de la Chine du Nord et que des membres de ces deux familles se fussent rejoints et associés dans l'entreprise d'un commun pèlerinage aux Lieux Saints. Puisque nous savons que l'un au moins des deux moines était né en plein centre des Öngüt, que ces Öngüt étaient l'élément turco-mongol le plus voisin de Pékin, et enfin que l'ensemble de la tribu des Öngüt était chrétienne, le plus simple est d'admettre que nous avons probablement affaire à des Öngüt; je m'en tiens donc sur ce point à l'idée que j'ai exprimée en 1914.

Dans le monde arabo-persan des environs de 1300, le nom de « Turc » s'employait d'une façon assez lâche pour désigner toutes les populations altaïques, celles de langue mongole comme celles de langue turque, et Rašidu-'d-Din, dans ses notices sur les tribus, parle successivement ⁽²⁾ : *a.* Des tribus « turques » qu'on appelle « mongoles » bien qu'elles aient eu auparavant d'autres noms et des chefs spéciaux (Jalaïr, Tatar, Merkit, etc.); *b.* Des tribus « turques » qui ont eu leurs noms et leurs chefs, mais qui ne sont parentes ni des précédentes, ni des Mongols proprement dits, tout en se rapprochant d'eux par le type et par la langue (Kerait, Naïman, Öngüt, Tangut ⁽³⁾, Ouigours, Bäkrin, Kirghiz, Qarluq, Qipčaq); *c.* Les tribus « turques » qui sont appelées « Mongols » depuis l'ancien temps (c'est-à-dire les Mongols proprement dits). Ainsi, en tout état de cause, il n'y aurait rien de bien étonnant à voir qualifier de « Turcs » deux moines Öngüt, mais l'épithète serait mieux justifiée, et surtout la qualification de Ouigour serait moins erronée si les Öngüt, comme les Ouigours, avaient parlé turc et non mongol.

Alors que le premier et le troisième groupe de Rašidu-'d-Din sont sûrement mongols, le second pose en effet un problème plus complexe : à laisser de côté les Tangut (qui n'étaient pas altaïques), les Ouigours, les Kirghiz, les Qarluq et les Qipčaq sont sûrement de langue turque, et je montrerai plus loin qu'il en était bien probablement de même des Bäkrin. Restent les trois premières tribus : Kerait, Naïman et Öngüt. Les Öngüt sont aujourd'hui de langue mongole; bien qu'il y ait des

⁽¹⁾ Abbeloos et Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, Paris et Louvain, 1872-1877, in-8°, III, 451. La même orthographe 𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤕 du nom des Ouigours se retrouve à plusieurs reprises dans le *Chronicon syriacum* du même Bar Hebraeus (éd. Bruns et Kirsch, Leipzig, 1789, in-4°, p. 555, 573). [La vocalisation *Yagûrâyê* ou *Yag^aûrâyê* est conforme à la phonétique du syriaque oriental. C'est elle que suppose la transcription latine *Iaguritae* que donnent Abbeloos et Lamy. Bar Hebraeus a dû écrire cet ethnique tel qu'il

l'entendait, prononcer autour de lui par les Chaldéens et les Syriens jacobites.] Marco Polo a *Icoguristan* (mss de l'Ambrosienne), qui peut se ramener à **Ioguristan*; Rubrouck écrit *Iugures* et on a *Iogours* chez Het'um (Hayton) l'historien.

⁽²⁾ Cf. la trad. de Berezin dans les *Trudy Vost. Otdél. Imp. Russk. Arkh. Obšč.*, V [1858], p. III-IV.

⁽³⁾ Toutes les tribus de cette division sont « altaïques », sauf les Tangut, c'est-à-dire les Si-Hia, de langue sino-tibétaine.

clans turcs se rattachant par leur nom aux Kerait, c'est aussi le mongol que parlent les principaux descendants des Kerait, à savoir les Torγōt (Turγ'aut); quant aux Naiman, leur nom même est mongol (*naïman* = « huit » en mongol ⁽¹⁾). Mais en même temps Bar Hebraeus parle des Kerait comme de « Turcs » à propos de leur conversion au christianisme vers 1008 ⁽²⁾; leurs chefs portaient, au moins en partie, des titres et des noms turcs; le nom de leurs descendants, les Turγa'ut est le pluriel mongol d'un mot turc (*turγaq*, « garde », « sentinelle ») ⁽³⁾. Nous savons peu de choses de la langue des Naiman, mais un mot spécial que Rašidu-'d-Dīn leur attribue est rattaché par lui à une racine turque ⁽⁴⁾. Quant aux Öngüt, et bien qu'il y ait eu peut-être dès les T'ang des tribus de langue mongole au voisinage même de ce qui était ou allait être leur habitat ⁽⁵⁾, les notices chinoises leur donnent une ascendance turque ⁽⁶⁾ et leur onomastique de l'époque mongole, quand il ne s'agit pas de noms

(1) Cf. *Journal asiatique*, 1920, I, 173-174.

(2) Cf. Abbeloos et Lamy, *Chron. eccles.*, III, 280.

[Nau, *L'expansion nestorienne en Asie*, p. 270-271, cite un passage de Māri ibn Sulaimān, dans son *Livre de la Tour* (*Kitab al-mīdal*), du XI^e siècle, qui est sans doute, dit-il, la source de Bar Hebraeus, et qui fait le récit de cette même conversion, arrivée d'après ce texte au temps du patriarche Jean VI Nasuk (19 janvier 1012-23 juillet 1016). Il y est seulement question d'un des rois turcs qui se fit chrétien avec deux cent mille personnes. On n'y fait pas mention des Kerait. A cause de cela, Pelliot se demandait si dans le récit de Bar Hebraeus le nom des Kerait n'avait pas été interpolé.] (J. D.)

(3) Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 29-30.

(4) Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 25-26.

(5) Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1929, 250-252.

(6) Leurs traditions familiales les rattachaient aux Turcs 沙陀 Chat'o de clan 朱 邪 Tchou-ye qui, sous les T'ang, gouvernaient la région de 鴈門 Yen-men dans le Nord-Ouest du Chansi, c'est-à-dire sensiblement là même où les Öngüt étaient installés au XIII^e siècle (cf. les noms à l'index de Chavannes, *Docum. sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*; pour ces traditions des Öngüt, cf. l'inscription funéraire du prince Georges, par 閻 復 Yen Fou, au ch. 23 du 元 文 類 Yuan wen lei, l'inscription relative à Ärä'öl, sœur du prince Georges, dans le ch. 1 du 勤 齋 集 K'in-tchai tsi de 蕭 爽 Siao Kiu, et la notice sur la famille princière des Öngüt dans le ch. 118 du Yuan che, simplement résumée d'ailleurs du texte de Yen Fou). Dans l'inscription relative à Ärä'öl, le nom de clan de la famille princière des Öngüt est donné comme Kie-lie (姓 揭 烈 氏), ce qui paraît bien ramener à Käräit (Kerait); la transcription usuelle est 怯 烈 K'ie-lie. Bien que les Öngüt et les

Kerait soient aux environ de 1200 les uns au Nord du Gobi et les autres au Sud, il a pu y avoir quelque parenté entre les familles princières chrétiennes de ces deux tribus, et cette parenté aiderait à comprendre que la légende du Prêtre Jean ait passé de l'une à l'autre. D'autre part, l'inscription du prince Georges et son résumé dans le *Yuan che* disent que le premier ancêtre des princes Öngüt est 卜 國 Pou-kouo, c'est-à-dire évidemment ce même khan Būgū que nous connaissons au début de l'histoire plus ou moins légendaire des Ouïgours, et dont le nom reparait aussi dans la légende qīpāq (cf., en dernier lieu, *JA*, 1913, I, 188, 196-197; 1920, I, 158; *T'oung Pao*, 1929, 134; 1930, 22). Une inscription, malheureusement très mutilée, nous renseigne de façon plus précise sur les ancêtres turcs dont se réclamaient les princes öngüt; c'est la « stèle de la reconstruction de la salle du portrait (影堂 ying-t'ang) du prince de 晉 Tsin, au 柏林寺 Po-lin-sseu » (à 7 li à l'Ouest de 代 州 Tai-tcheou, Chansi), datée de 1355. Mentionnée dans le *Houan-yu fang-pei lou*, elle est l'objet dans le 代 州 志 Tai-tcheou tche d'une notice très médiocre que le *Chan-si t'ong tche* de 1892 (96, 62-63) s'est contenté de reproduire; Ts'ien Ta-hin en avait tiré meilleur parti dans son *Kin-che wen pa-wei*, 20, 19 b; et surtout tout ce qui en est déchiffrable actuellement est reproduit dans le 山 右 石 刻 叢 編 Chan-yeou che-k'o ts'ong-pien, 39, 5-10. Malgré les lacunes du texte, ce qui subsiste ne laisse aucun doute — comme d'ailleurs la seule mention des Turcs Chat'o de clan Tchou-ye gouverneurs de Yen-men suffisait à le faire supposer — que les princes öngüt de l'époque mongole se considéraient comme les descendants directs du Turc 李 克 用 Li K'o-yong, prince de Tsin (856-908; cf. sur lui Giles, *Biogr. dict.*, n° 1155, d'ailleurs assez inexact), dont le fils 李 存 勗 Li Ts'ouen-hiu fonda

chrétiens d'origine syriaque, est largement turque. Il est possible en fin de compte que nous ayons affaire, sinon dans les trois cas, au moins avec les Öngüt, à une tribu de langue turque qui, dès l'époque mongole, était fortement en voie de se mongoliser. Si les Öngüt du XIII^e siècle, ou du moins une bonne partie d'entre eux, parlaient turc, il sera plus facile d'admettre qu'on ait appliqué à deux moines öngüt le nom plus connu de la principale et de la plus civilisée des nations turques de l'Asie Centrale, celles des Ouigours ⁽¹⁾; en tout cas les faits sont là, et il y a d'autres exemples où le nom

en 923 la dynastie des T'ang postérieurs et dont le tertre funéraire, situé sur les terrains du Po-lin-sseu, aurait encore subsisté intact à la fin du XII^e siècle; à ce moment, Ala-quš tigin-quri, « en compulsant les registres généalogiques, connut que le prince (de Tsin) était... son ancêtre et présida à un sacrifice pour lui » (攷閱譜牒知王口口祖遂主其祭祀). Évidemment, il y a quelque incertitude à nos yeux dans cette filiation quasi impériale qu'on retrouve documentairement après trois siècles. Une information du *Tai-tcheou tche*, reproduite par le *Chan-yeou che-k'o ts'ong-pien*, veut que la tombe, située à l'Est du Po-lin-sseu, ait été violée en 1138-1140 par les moines du temple; à la fin du XIII^e siècle, le prince Georges lui aurait affecté plus de vingt familles chargées de son entretien (守冢 *cheou-tch'ong*); populairement, on appelait cette tombe le « tertre funéraire du prince de Tsin » (晉王陵); les « cyprès du tertre de Tsin » étaient un des « huit sites » (八景 *pa-king*) de Yen-men. Cela n'est pas bien d'accord avec le tertre inviolé (無恙 *wou-kao*) dont parle l'inscription de 1355. L'affectation à la tombe de plusieurs dizaines de familles est également mentionnée dans une inscription de 1310 due à 姚燧 Yao Souei (dans l'édition du Kouang-ya-chou-kiu, 26, 7 a, 守冢 *cheou-kia* est évidemment à corriger en *cheou-tch'ong*), mais y paraîtrait attribuée à Ai-buqa, le père du prince Georges, si on ne devait voir plus loin que Yao Souei a vraisemblablement réuni en un seul ces deux personnages. Quoi qu'il en soit, le temple, remis à neuf et bien doté dans la période *yen-yeou* (1314-1320), brûla par la suite, stèles comprises; reconstruit par le zèle de pieux moines, il fut presque entièrement dépouillé et annexé par une « famille puissante ». En 1335, le temple était pris sous la protection du prince de Tchao Ma-tcha-han; enfin, les bâtiments furent entièrement remis en état et le portrait de Li K'o-yong peint sur la muraille par les soins du prince de Tchao Batu-tämür. [Sur la tombe de Li K'o-yong, cf. *Sin wou tai chi*, 4, 4a.] C'est à cette occasion, semble-t-il, que l'inscription fut gravée,

en 1355. Dans ce qui reste de l'inscription, tout atteste son caractère nettement bouddhique; il n'en est pas moins digne de remarque qu'à la fin, juste après la date du 6^e mois de 1355, il y a encore, avant la lacune finale, deux mots 崇福 *tch'ong-fou* qui ne sont pas sans exemple dans le bouddhisme, mais qui sont aussi les premiers mots du nom de l'administration dite *tch'ong-fou-sseu* qui, sous les Yuan, était chargée d'administrer le culte chrétien. Comme la famille princière des Öngüt était chrétienne, il n'est pas impossible qu'il y ait eu, après la date, une mention d'un personnage qui appartenait au *tch'ong-fou-sseu*.

⁽¹⁾ M. Montgomery (p. 18) dit que les deux moines « may not have been Chinese by race »; mais c'est évident et résulte des textes eux-mêmes; jamais des Chinois ne sont qualifiés de « Turcs »; et c'est bien en vain que M. Montgomery croit trouver au récit de la jeunesse de Rabban Säumâ « a distinctly Chinese flavour ». Dans la même note, il est fait état d'un passage de Bretschneider (*Med. Res.*, I, 262) qui dirait, d'après M. Montgomery, que « in the syriac sources the name [« Yaghwrite »] denotes Turks of Eastern Cathay »; et ceci expliquerait que le nom fût employé pour des Turcs de la région de Pékin. Mais M. Montgomery a mal cité Bretschneider qui dit que, d'après Assemani, le nom « denotes the Eastern Turks of Khatai », et Bretschneider invoque ensuite la Chronique syriaque de Bar Hebraeus selon qui, dit-il, les Ouigours sont « a numerous tribe of the Eastern Turks belonging to Khatai ». On voit qu'il ne s'agit pas en réalité de Turcs du Cathay oriental, mais de Turcs orientaux (par rapport à ceux de l'Asie occidentale) et qui sont dans la dépendance du Cathay; c'est le cas des véritables Ouigours de la région de Tourfan. Le nom de « Turcs orientaux » a pu d'ailleurs être étendu aussi aux Öngüt. Quand il figure dans le préambule de notre texte, c'est bien en ce sens d'« oriental » qu'il faut l'entendre, et non, comme l'a fait M. Budge (p. 120), en une sorte d'équivalence semi-technique à « Nestorien »; ce qui est vrai de l'expression de « chrétiens orientaux » ne s'applique pas, selon moi, aux « Turcs orientaux ».

d' « Ouigors » a été appliqué à des Kerait et peut-être même à des Öngüt⁽¹⁾.

L'aîné des deux moines, Rabban Šaumâ, était fils d'un certain Šiban, « visiteur » (*sa'ôrdâ*)⁽²⁾ de la communauté chrétienne de Khan-baliq (Pékin) et de la femme légitime de Šiban, Q^eyamtâ; longtemps sans enfants, ils prièrent, et finalement un fils leur naquit, qui fut appelé Šaumâ, ou plus complètement Bar Šaumâ, « fils du jeûne ». Bien que la date de cette naissance ne soit pas indiquée, on peut la placer vers 1225⁽³⁾. Pékin avait été conquis par les Mongols sur les Kin en 1215, mais rien ne montre que la communauté nestorienne de Pékin ne soit pas antérieure à la conquête mongole. S'il en était autrement, nous admettrions que Šiban était vraisemblablement venu du vrai pays öngüt peu après 1215.

Khan-baliq, la « ville du *khan* », est le nom turc (et non mongol comme on le dit parfois) de Pékin⁽⁴⁾. Il ne nous est attesté jusqu'ici, à ma connaissance, qu'après que Khubilâi eût fixé à Pékin la capitale de l'empire mongol en 1264, et le texte syriaque de l'*Histoire de Mâr Ya(h)b'allâhâ* non seulement n'est pas antérieur aux environs de 1320, mais même son prototype persan ne nous mène pas au-delà de 1264, puisque de toute façon le départ des deux moines pour les Lieux Saints

⁽¹⁾ Le ministre Činqaï était un Kérait (cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1914, 628-629), mais les textes persans le disent Ouïgour (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 389). De Čin-Tāmūr, qui était certainement un Öngüt, Juwainî fait un Qara-Khitâi (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 415); par contre, Howorth (III, 39, le qualifie de Ouïgour, et bien qu'il ajoute à la p. 760 qu'Erdmann le dit Öngüt, il ne semble pas dire qu'il s'est trompé p. 39; mais je ne retrouve pas actuellement de texte qui parle de Čin-Tāmūr comme d'un Ouïgour. En réalité, l'objection qu'on pourrait faire à l'origine öngüt que je suppose pour Rabban-Šaumâ et pour Mâr Ya(h)b'allâhâ est d'un autre ordre, à savoir que les Öngüt devaient être en grande partie des nomades, au lieu que nos deux moines sont nés dans des agglomérations sédentaires, l'un à Pékin, l'autre à « Košang », et que Rabban Šaumâ, devenu vieux, ne s'accommodait plus d'une vie nomade dans laquelle il n'avait pas été élevé (cf. texte syriaque dans Bedjan, p. 85, trad. Chabot, p. 99). Mais rien n'empêche d'admettre qu'il y avait chez les Öngüt, depuis si longtemps au contact de la Chine, une proportion assez forte d'éléments sédentaires.

⁽²⁾ C'est le titre que portera plus tard Rabban Šaumâ lui-même et qui lui est donné, transcrit en mongol, dans la lettre d'Arjun à Philippe le Bel; on s'était mépris sur cette transcription; M. Van Hoonacker est le premier, à ma connaissance, à avoir rétabli l'original, dans le *Muséon* de 1889 (VIII, 271), plusieurs années avant que M. Chabot l'indiquât à son tour (*Histoire*, p. 225).

⁽³⁾ Rabban Šaumâ était très sensiblement l'aîné de Mâr Ya(h)b'allâhâ III, et celui-ci a dû naître en 1245; on verra plus loin une autre raison qui donne à penser que Rabban Šaumâ n'a guère pu naître après 1225. D'ailleurs Rabban Šaumâ est mort au début de 1294, mais dès 1291, il « avait déjà beaucoup vieilli » (Bedjan, p. 95; Chabot, p. 99) et supportait mal la vie presque nomade de la Cour mongole de Perse; il devait donc avoir assez largement passé la soixantaine à ce moment-là. M. Budge qui, à la p. 57, fait naître Rabban Šaumâ entre 1230 et 1235, avait donné à la p. 44 ses raisons pour placer la naissance du même Rabban Šaumâ entre 1220 et 1230; la date de 1220 me paraît un peu haute, et je doute que Rabban Šaumâ ait été presque septuagénaire quand Arjun l'envoya en Occident. La phrase du texte relative à la naissance de Rabban Šaumâ est manifestement mal coupée chez M. Montgomery (p. 28); le point et l'appel de la note 4 doivent être placés après « chamber ».

⁽⁴⁾ M. Montgomery (p. 27) dit que Khan-baliq signifie « Khan's city » selon Yule, « or rather Khan's Camp (Loewe, p. 640) ». J'ignore qui est Loewe que M. Montgomery cite une autre fois, et de même sans titre d'ouvrage, à la p. 16; mais si la citation faite par M. Montgomery est exacte, « Loewe » s'est trompé; *baliq* en turc, *balıyasun* (< *balaya-sun*) en mongol ne sont connus qu'au sens de « ville ». Le « Kambulic » que Sir W. Budge donne deux fois à la p. 105 et répète à l'index est un monstre.

et encore plus le journal persan de Rabban Şaumâ sont postérieurs à cette date-là ⁽¹⁾. Toutefois, avant d'être la « grande capitale », ou 大都 Ta-tou, de Khubilai, Pékin avait été toutefois celle des Kin ou Jučen, et il est très possible que le nom turc de Khan-baliq lui ait été appliqué dès ce moment-là, c'est-à-dire bien avant 1215 ⁽²⁾.

Des trois noms des parents et du fils, deux sont purement syriaques et assez usuels : Q^eyamtâ, nom de la mère, est fréquent dans l'onomastique nestorienne, et apparaît une douzaine de fois dans les inscriptions funéraires du Semiréç'e ⁽³⁾; de même Şaumâ, ou plus complètement Bar Şaumâ, est un nom syriaque courant, et en Chine même, chez les Öngüt, nous connaissons un Bar Şaumâ 'Elišû', né en 1113 ⁽⁴⁾. Plus intéressant est le nom du père, Şiban. Le nom n'est pas syriaque, ni n'a été relevé dans l'épigraphie funéraire du Semiréç'e, mais on le retrouve, je crois, dans l'onomastique turco-mongole, car ce doit être lui qui a été porté par le cinquième fils de Jöçi (le fils aîné de Gengis-khan). Le nom de ce fils de Jöçi est généralement écrit شيبان par les auteurs musulmans, et on le transcrit usuellement Šeiban ou Šaiban ⁽⁵⁾; il est bien connu pour avoir servi d'éponyme à la dynastie des Šaibānī ou Šeibānī. Toutefois, au XII^e siècle, une forme Šaiban (et à plus forte raison Šeiban) est à peu près aussi invraisemblable en turc d'Asie Centrale qu'en mongol; je ne doute guère que, postérieurement à la conversion de la Horde d'Or à l'Islam, la prononciation du nom n'ait été

⁽¹⁾ Je reviendrai plus loin sur les langues que nos deux moines ont dû connaître.

⁽²⁾ L'emplacement de 燕京 Yen-king, le Pékin des Kin, ne coïncide pas exactement avec le Ta-tou que Khubilai fit construire de 1264 à 1267, mais les deux emplacements sont si voisins que le nom turc de « Ville du khan » a pu passer sans peine de l'un à l'autre.

⁽³⁾ [Le terme syriaque Q^eyamtâ signifie « résurrection » et a été employé comme nom de femme chez les Nestoriens. Remarquons que le mot grec Ἀνάστασις, qui a le même sens, a été aussi donné comme nom de femme chez les Byzantins, où il désigne à la fois la fête de la Résurrection et la basilique du Saint-Sépulcre.] (J. D.)

Sur la fréquence de ce nom en Asie Centrale, cf. la liste de Kokovcov, *Nes'kol'ko novykh nadgrobykh kamnei s khristiansko siritskimi nadpisyami uz Srednet Azii*, dans *Izv. Imp. Ak. Nauk*, 1907, 455 et 458.

⁽⁴⁾ Cf. T'oung Pao, 1914, 630; le nom est écrit 把驛馬也里黠 Pa-tsao-ma-ye-li-tch'ou dans l'inscription due à 元好問 Yuan Hao-wen (1190-1257); éd. du 九金人集 Kieou Kin-jen-tsi, 27, 6 b), 伯索麻也里束 Po [lu alors Pail-so-ma-ye-li-chou dans les œuvres de 黃潛 Houang Tsin (1277-1357; éd. du Sseu-pou ts'ong-k'an, 43, 1), 把造馬野禮屬 Pa-tsao-ma-ye-li-chou dans une inscription composée par 馬祖常 Ma Tsou-tch'ang, descendant de ce Bar Şaumâ (1279-1338; cette inscription se trouve, entre autres, dans le

ch. 67 du *Yuan wen lei*); ce nom, mal coupé par Palladius, a abouti au « Pa-sao-ma-ie-li » de Yule et Cordier, *Marco Polo* ³, I, 289; le second élément, 'Elišû', s'est rencontré au Semiréç'e (Chwolson, *Syr.-nest. Grabinschr.*, N. F. [1897], n° 4, et il n'y a pas de raison pour en supprimer la voyelle labiale et y chercher le nom d'Elisée comme M. Kokovcov a proposé de le faire (*loc. cit.*, 441). L'*Histoire de Mâr Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ* ne donne au futur Rabban Şaumâ que le nom de baptême de Şaumâ; mais son nom complet de Bar Şaumâ, « fils [obtenu] par le jeûne », est attesté par une série d'autres sources; cf. Chabot, p. 11. Şaumâ s'employait d'ailleurs aussi seul comme nom (par abréviation de Bar Şaumâ, dit M. Noeldeke, dans *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIV [1890], 527); les inscriptions du Semiréç'e ont même livré plus de quinze Şaumâ et pas un seul Bar Şaumâ (cf. Kokovcov, *loc. cit.*, 450, 458); ceci suffit à montrer que le « Şaumâ » de notre texte est conforme à un usage alors courant.

⁽⁵⁾ Naturellement, en se plaçant au seul point de vue graphique, on pourrait vocaliser de même la transcription en écriture syriaque du nom du père de Rabban Şaumâ. Le nom du prince est transcrit Šeiban ou Šaiban entre autres par Hammer, Berezin, Lane-Poole, Howorth, M. Barthold, l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*; d'Ohsson (*Hist. des Mongols*, II, 8, 626) serait presque seul à lire Šiban, s'il n'y avait à lui joindre Bretschneider, *Med. Res.*, I, 309, et M. Blochet, *Hist. des Mongols*, II, 114 suiv.

altérée sous l'influence de celui de la tribu des Šāiban, comme bien antérieurement dans le monde musulman⁽¹⁾. Mais Plan Carpin écrit Šiban le nom du fils de Jōči, et l'*Histoire des Yuan* l'orthographie à deux reprises 昔班 Ši-pan (121, 2a; 168, 11 a)⁽²⁾; ce nom doit donc être transcrit Šiban (< Šiban > *Šiban?), et non Šāiban ou Šēiban. Le même nom, avec la même orthographe, se retrouve dans l'*Histoire des Yuan* pour deux autres personnages : une fois au chapitre 18, sous l'année 1295, pour un fonctionnaire provincial dont les origines sont inconnues; une autre fois au chapitre 9, sous l'année 1276, pour un haut fonctionnaire métropolitain dont la biographie détaillée se trouve en outre au chapitre 134 et qui était un Ouïgour. Enfin, dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, un membre de la famille princière des Ūngūt s'appelait 不顏昔班 Pou-yen-si-pan, c'est-à-dire Buyan Šiban⁽³⁾. Un autre Ūngūt, appelé 昔班帖木兒 Ši-pan-ti'e-mou-eul, Šiban Tāmūr, est mentionné à titre posthume dans le *Yuan che* sous le 9^e mois de 1358 (*Yuan che*, 45, 5 a). Le sens et l'origine de Šiban m'échappent; cependant les emprunts onomastiques se sont plutôt faits alors d'ouïgour en mongol qu'en sens inverse; je suppose donc que le nom est vraisemblablement ouïgour d'origine, et qu'en ouïgour il devait se prononcer *Šiban⁽⁴⁾; la forme Šiban

(1) Je n'ai pas à rechercher ici si ce n'est pas par une contamination analogique qu'on lit Šāiban le nom du souverain de la dynastie « iulūnde » d'Égypte au début du X^e siècle; on sait que les « iulūnides » étaient d'origine turque. De Cuiques, dans son *Histoire des Huns*, il sait Šiban, mais il semble que personne ne l'ait plus suivi de nos jours. C'est la même influence de l'islamisme qui fait toujours lire « Bōrak » ou « Burak » (Bōraq), ou même « Bōrrak » chez von Hammer, le nom d'un des princes de l'*ulus* de Cayatal dans le troisième quart du XIII^e siècle; mais le *Yuan che* (107, 5 a) l'appelle 牙剌 (Pa-la, donc Baraq, et je ne vois pas de raison qui aille contre cette vocalisation.

(2) Le premier passage est déjà cité dans Bretnschneider, *Med. Res.*, I, 331.

(3) Cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1914, 631, où j'ai écrit Buyan Šiban parce que j'ai restitué la forme « mongole » du nom.

(4) Les variantes des manuscrits de Juwaini semblent bien ramener, pour le nom du prince Šiban, à 𐰽𐰺𐰍 Šibān ou 𐰽𐰺𐰍 Šibān plutôt qu'à Šibqan ou Šibān; M. Mirza Muḥammad, dans son édition (cf. son index), s'est prononcé pour Šibqan. Šibqan ou Šibqan est de toute manière surprenant, mais on sait que l'onomastique de Juwaini est assez aberrante avec Toši pour Jōči (confirme d'ailleurs par Plan Carpin; voir J. A., 1913, I, 459-460), Hōrdu pour Ordu ou Orda (cf. *T'oung Pao*, 1930, 208-209), etc., et ne peut être considérée comme donnant les formes vraiment mongoles des noms. Dans le cas présent, je crois que la leçon primitive de Juwaini est en réalité

Šiban. Pour anciens que soient nos manuscrits, ils ont déjà des fautes assez graves, comme le But-tāngri gardé dans l'édition de M. Mirza Muḥammad au lieu de Tub-tāngri (= Tab-tāngri). Or il est un écrivain qui, peu de temps après l'achèvement de l'œuvre de Juwaini, lui a beaucoup emprunté, c'est l'écrivain jacobite Bar Hebraeus; nous retrouvons dans son *Chronicon syriacum* plusieurs des formes spéciales à Juwaini, mais sans certaines des altérations de nos manuscrits de Juwaini; c'est ainsi que Bar Hebraeus (éd. Bruns, 438; trad. 449) écrit Tūbūt-tāngri, forme déjà altérée, mais qui conserve, dans l'écriture syriaque qui ne prête pas ici à altération, le t initial qui en écriture arabe est devenu b par déplacement de points diacritiques. De même Bar Hebraeus a Toši (éd. 439; trad. 449) et Hōrdu (l'éd. de Bruns, p. 483, par déplacement d'un point diacritique, a « Hōrtu », dont la traduction, p. 499, a fait « Har-teru »); ce sont là des formes spéciales à Juwaini. Or, pour le prince fils de Jōči, Bar Hebraeus (éd. 483; trad. 499) écrit Šibān. En écriture syriaque, la confusion graphique de s et de f ne peut pas se produire comme dans l'écriture arabe; je considère donc, vu la leçon de Bar Hebraeus, que la leçon à adopter définitivement dans le texte de Juwaini est Šibān, c'est-à-dire la forme ouïgoure du nom (de même qu'il emploie la forme ouïgoure Māngū pour le qaḡhan dont le vrai nom mongol est Mongka; cf. J. A., 1913, I, 451). Blochet (*Hist. des Mongols*, II, App. 30) a proposé pour le nom deux étymologies mongoles dont la seconde (par *šiba'un*, « oiseau ») lui paraît la plus probable; cette erreur a été répétée par Spuler, *Goldene*

de l'*Histoire de Mâr Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ* serait déjà mongolisée, et relativement tardive même pour le mongol ⁽¹⁾.

Quand Bar Şaumâ atteignit l'âge adulte, on le maria ⁽²⁾; il reçut la prêtrise, et devint sacristain

Horde, 24 et 25.] (J. D.), mais est phonétiquement impossible; quant à la première, par *şibaya* ou *şibayan*, « sort (qu'on tire) », elle a contre elle l'origine ouigoure probable du nom et le fait que le mot mongol, étant *şibayan* et non *şiba'an*, ne se prête pas à une contraction en *Şiban*. L'adoption de la forme *Siban* (et non *Sibqan* ou *Şibqan*) dans *Juwaini* amène à supprimer cet exemple de ceux d'ailleurs assez hétérogènes que M. Mirzá Muḥammad a invoqués, à propos de gutturales mongoles évanescences, dans son édition de *Juwaini*, I, 51 et 142. Le « *Stican* » ou « *Stichan* » de Rubrouck, vraisemblablement issu de **Sciban*, pourrait être l'indice d'une prononciation *Şiban* dès le milieu du XIII^e siècle, mais ne suffit pas à l'assurer. Je ne fais pas intervenir ici le « *Cibai* ou *Ciban* », ou « *Cibai* » et « *Ciban* » de Marco Polo (cf. Yule et Cordier ³, II, 459, 462), dont la forme est incertaine et dont l'original doit être en tout cas différent.

⁽¹⁾ La date où, en mongol, *st-* et *si-* ont abouti à *şi-* n'est pas déterminée jusqu'ici de façon précise. Les transcriptions de l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols* ont *şi-*, mais, si l'original de l'*Histoire secrète* est de 1240, la transcription en est du XIV^e siècle et ne vaut que pour cette date là. J'ai exprimé récemment (*T'oung Pao*, 1930, 28-29) l'idée que le passage de *s-* à *şi-* en mongol devant *i* « doit se placer vraisemblablement vers la fin du XIII^e siècle, et peut-être d'abord dans certains dialectes seulement »; j'aurais dû faire remarquer toutefois que les formes en *şi-* semblent déjà généralisées en écriture *'phags-pa* dès une inscription de 1276, ce qui rend probable qu'elles aient été adoptées dans cette écriture dès sa création en 1269. Mais alors la survivance de si nombreuses formes en *si-* dans l'*Histoire des Yuan* devient plus difficile à expliquer; je n'ai pas de solution satisfaisante à proposer. [Cf. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'or*, p. 44-47.] (J. D.)

⁽²⁾ Chabot avait traduit par « marier », tout en disant en note que le mot peut également signifier « fiancer »; M. Montgomery (28) et Sir W. Budge (125) ont adopté cette dernière traduction, et Sir W. Budge a brodé sur ce thème (p. 43).

[Dans l'Eglise chaldéenne, pas plus que dans les autres Eglises orientales ou dans notre haut Moyen Âge latin, on n'a jamais pensé que le mariage dût nécessairement se former en un seul temps, et ne pût acquérir son être par étapes successives. Au

Moyen Âge, chez les Chaldéens, le mariage est conclu en deux temps, qui en apparaissent comme les parties constitutives. Au premier moment (*m^kh^rû^tâ* ou *m^kh^rû^râ*), les parties expriment, en présence de la croix et d'un prêtre, la volonté de se prendre pour mari et pour femme. Le lien ainsi créé est presque aussi fort que celui qui naît d'un mariage parfait — c'est pourquoi on ne saurait sans abus le désigner du nom de fiançailles. Il ne peut être rompu que pour certaines causes déterminées, à peine plus nombreuses que celles qui permettent de rompre un mariage parfait : l'une d'elles est l'entrée en religion d'un des conjoints (c'est le divorce pour cause de piété), même contre le gré de l'autre époux, qui du reste est libre de se remarier.

L'autre moment, qui est séparé du premier par un intervalle qui va de plusieurs mois à plusieurs années, et qui est aussi entouré d'une cérémonie religieuse, marque l'établissement de la vie commune et la consommation du mariage; J. Dauvillier-C. de Clercq, *Le mariage en droit canonique oriental*, Paris, 1936, p. 48-58.

Du texte syriaque de la *Vie de Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ* découle nettement que Rabban Şaumâ avait seulement conclu, sur les instances de ses parents, le premier temps du mariage : *'amk^rû(h)y* « ils le marièrent », est un aphel du verbe *m^kh^rar*, qui est le terme technique qui désigne le fait de conclure le *m^kh^rû^râ* ou le *m^kh^rû^tâ*. Rabban Şaumâ ne poussa jamais plus loin son expérience matrimoniale, et ne passa jamais au second moment du mariage. C'est ce que confirme la suite du texte : « il se conduisit en toute chasteté » (*nakh^pû^tâ* signifie chasteté ou continence) — ce que Chabot rend inexactement en traduisant « en toute honnêteté ».

Après avoir conclu le *m^kh^rû^tâ*, Rabban Şaumâ reçut l'ordination sacerdotale. Le droit commun des Eglises orientales a de tout temps permis aux gens mariés de recevoir les ordres, en continuant à vivre dans le mariage. Le droit canonique chaldéen du Moyen Âge autorisait même les prêtres à se marier après leur ordination, ou encore, devenus veufs, à se remarier. Néanmoins, l'usage était de se marier avant de recevoir la prêtrise, et c'est ce qu'atteste la *Vie de Ya(h)b^Hallâhâ*.

[Rabban Şaumâ attendit ainsi trois ans, pour ne pas mécontenter ses parents. Puis il se sépara de

THE DYNASTIC ARTS OF THE KUSHANS



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the reigns of Azes II and Gondophares with the span of an adult's career. This unusual custom of joint issues is of great assistance in outlining the chronology. Gondophares probably lived in the middle third of the first century A.D., which would place Azes II within a decade or two of the birth of Christ.²⁵

GONDOPHARES

In the highly abstract body of evidence for Śaka and Parthian history in India, the only prince whose name took on a legendary aura is called Gondophares (on his coins [Γ]ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΟΥ in Greek, Guduphara in Kharoshthī). These coins bear the distinctly Parthian motif of the bearded and ornately armored royal portrait (Coins 280, 281) as well as Iranian titulature and personal names. Although there is no doubt of Gondophares' Parthian origins, his coinage retained many Indo-Greek and Śaka elements—the equestrian king, Nike, Siva—and is basically distinct from the imperial Arsacid issues. Most were minted at Taxila, which was probably Gondophares' chief seat of power.

The earliest of his coins seem to be those issued jointly with an Arachosian Prince Orthagnes (whose name is close to that of ORLAGNO, Lord of Battles on Kushan coins; see Chapter III). Later, Gondophares became ruler of a vast domain, including Arachosia, Seistān, Sindh, Gandhāra, and the Kabul Valley into the Paropamisadae, but he does not seem to have extended his rule east of the Panjāb. The excavations at Taxila have revealed that this rule was a period of great prosperity and cultural achievement characterized by the spirit of philhellenism. The affinity for Greek culture had been one of the distinctive early traits of the Parthians in Iran, but it had been eclipsed by the revival of Iranian nationalism and the bitter warfare with the Romans throughout the last half of the first century B.C. After the settlement of the Augustan peace, however, Greek and Roman influence again flowed along the trade routes to the Orient. The Śaka-Parthian strata at Sirkap yielded great quantities of such Occidental luxury goods as metal work, jewelry, gems, seals, and statuettes.²⁶ The stucco decorations on the Apsidal Temple at Sirkap reveal a strong Hellenistic flavor; the Ionic temple at Jaṇḍiāl, the most Hellenic structure yet found on Indian soil, may well have been a Parthian fire sanctuary of this period.²⁷ The archaeological evidence from Taxila is confirmed to a degree by literary sources. The legends of the mission of Saint Thomas the Apostle state that he had been summoned to the court of King Gudnaphar (or Gundofor) of India, who wanted a carpenter who might build a palace in the Roman style.²⁸ The *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, written about A.D. 217, gives evidence that a ruler with the Parthian name Phraates was installed at Taxila about A.D. 43-44.²⁹ The historicity of these legends cannot be taken at face value, but there are many reasons to believe that the Indo-Parthians were ruling at Taxila in the first half of the first century A.D.

THE "SCYTHIAN" PERIOD

AN APPROACH TO THE HISTORY, ART, EPIGRAPHY
AND PALAEOGRAPHY OF NORTH INDIA FROM THE
1ST CENTURY B.C. TO THE 3RD CENTURY A.D.

BY

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW PH.D.

WITH 29 TEXTFIGURES AND 72 FIGURES



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1949

high titles. Thus we have coins with the following legends ⁹³⁾:

obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ

reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJARAJASA MAHATASA AYASA.

obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ

reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJARAJASA MAHATASA AYILISASA.

Besides as Gondophernes, as we shall see, did not reign from 19 A.D.-45 A.D., as RAPSON thought, there is no need for us to fill in the gap between Azes—who, according to RAPSON, ascended the throne already in 58 B.C. ⁹⁴⁾—and Gondophernes with an Azilises and Azes II. Further WHITEHEAD, one of the greatest authorities in this field of numismatics, although he makes a distinction between the coins of Azilises and Azes, says with regard to RAPSON's opinion that an Azes I and an Azes II existed: "The difference in type and style between the abundant issues of Azes can be adequately explained by reasons of locality alone, operating through a long reign." ⁹⁵⁾

Recapitulating, we propose the following sequence of kings:

Vonones — Spalahora Maues
(= Spalyris = Spalirises = Spalirisa)

Spalagadama

Azes

?

Gondophernes

?..... = no certain
family-relationship.

The date of Azes can in a measure be approximated by the fact that the square omikron, which as we saw above is met with for the first time in the period of 57-37 B.C., is not found on the coins

93) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 132.

94) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 572 and 577.

95) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 93.

of Maues, so that this last king must therefore have lived before or about 57 B.C. Azes, therefore, must have reigned in the third quarter of the 1st century B.C. This tallies with the information gained from the strata of Taxila from which Sir JOHN MARSHALL not only deduced that Azes' coins immediately follow those of Maues, but also that they date from the third quarter of the 1st century B.C.⁹⁶). Therefore Azes must have reigned almost contemporary with or a little later than Orodes, e.g. about the years 50-30 B.C. Now it so happens, that just on some of Azes' coins the square omikron appears, which would tally excellently with the date suggested. Another argument is the fact that the coins of Spalirises (so, the latest coins of Spalahora), on which the square omikron also appears, show a great similarity to the coins of Hermaeus, one of the very last Greek kings in Kābul. This Hermaeus, according to TARN, reigned about 50-30 B.C.: "... it is also certain that Hermaeus did not live till A.D. 25 or anywhere near it..."⁹⁷) and "...he cannot well have come to the throne later than c. 50 B.C. or died before 30 B.C." ⁹⁸)

Our conclusion, therefore, must be that Azes must have reigned about that time, for instance 50-30 B.C. In connection with this it is interesting just to point out that KONOW thought he was able to distinguish in the inscription of Shahdaur (in the first line of which "Ayasa" can be read), the date 102, or 80 and still something illegible or 90, and again an undecipherable unit, so that the inscription dates from the period 80 to 102 of the old era. This calculation would give us: 49 to 27 B.C., and therefore coincides with the period suggested above for other reasons.

Let us now consider whether this date for Azes tallies with other information. We noticed already that the coins of Spalahora, who, judging by the coins is partly contemporary with Azes, are indeed a type copied from Hermaeus of about 50-30 B.C. According to the genealogy Vonones must have reigned somewhat earlier. This also tallies wholly with the information gained from his coinage, for they display exclusively the round omikron, so that we can fix the

96) J. MARSHALL, *The Date of Kanishka*, J.R.A.S., 1914, pp. 973-986, esp. p. 977.

97) TARN, p. 338.

98) TARN, p. 497.

date of Vonones somewhere between the years 60-50 B.C. When RAPSON made known his pleasing discovery about the epoch in which the square omikron appeared, he made an exception for this rule with regard to the coins of Vonones: "...it appears that this epigraphical test cannot be applied in this particular instance, since the square form seems not to occur in connection with these types until much later."⁹⁹) A propos of this KONOW thought that the rule about the square omikron was worthless¹⁰⁰). The two types of coins struck by Vonones are the type of Demetrius' "Heracles standing", and the type of Heliocles' "Zeus standing". In the first type we notice the appearance of the square omikron only on the coins of Hermaeus issued together with Kujūla Kadphises. In the second type the square omikron appears on the various coins of Gondophernes with the "standing Zeus" but not on this type of coins issued by his predecessors.

RAPSON made the exception to the rule about the square omikron, because he thought that Gondophernes reigned only from 19-45 A.D.¹⁰¹) and that Kujūla Kadphises who succeeded him reigned about the middle of the 1st century A.D.¹⁰²). As we have seen, and further on shall still see, these kings reigned already in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C., so that there is not one single reason to say that the rule about the appearance of the square omikron does not apply to the types of coins used by Vonones, and we might consequently accept ± 50 B.C. as "terminus ante quem" for Vonones. So one thing and another tallies with the dates proposed by us for the kings Azes, Spalahora and Vonones. Moreover, by this the rule about the square omikron appears to be confirmed on every point.

After Azes Gondophernes ascends the throne. He immediately follows Azes, because he has the same general Aśpavarma, son of Indravarma¹⁰³) in his service, as appears from his coins. Ar-

99) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 573.

100) *Corpus*, p. XLII.

101) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 576-577.

102) *Ibidem*, p. 562.

103) For more details about this family see R. B. WHITEHEAD, *The Dynasty of the General Aspavarma*, *Num. Chron.*, 6th series, vol. IV, London 1944, pp. 99-104.

chaeological strata also point to an immediate sequence. Perhaps they are relatives, and we might suppose $\pm 30 - \pm 15$ B.C. as an approximate date for Gondophernes. The only available inscription mentioning him, is that of Takht-i-Bāhī ¹⁰⁴) of the year $103 = 26$ B.C. which corresponds exactly with our just expressed supposition regarding his time.

The year 26 mentioned in this inscription might refer to the years of Gondophernes' dynasty, and in that case Maues or Vonones could have begun to reign in $77 = 52$ B.C. That the principal date in this piece is 103, in our opinion, can be taken from the fact that month and day are written after it and not after 26. Furthermore "year" is here indicated as *sambatsara*, which was always the custom in the old Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of this time, while after the date 26 *vase* is written, by which it was evidently distinguished from another kind of year.

Finally, concerning Gondophernes' government, we are able to make out from his coins that he ruled over the territory of Azes as well as over that of Vonones, id est the Punjāb and Arachosia ¹⁰⁵). We do not know whether he brought this great kingdom under his sway only by conquest. It is clear, however, that altogether Gondophernes was the mightiest king of this Parthian dynasty. In concurrence with this is the fact that exactly his name appears to be known in the far West in the first centuries A.D. ¹⁰⁶).

Now we still owe an explanation for our conviction that Gondophernes reigned so much earlier than is generally accepted. Nearly all historians follow RAPSON's opinion, that this king reigned from 19 until about 45 A.D. They build this opinion entirely on one piece of information, namely the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, the value of which we shall consider more closely further on. HERZFELD thinks that Gondophernes was supreme king from 20-65 A.D. "Er hat mindestens 40 Jahre geherrscht". ¹⁰⁷) He believes his name is mentioned in a western source, viz. the

104) *Corpus*, pp. 57-62.

105) V. SMITH, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties*, Z.D.M.G., vol. 60, 1906, p. 65.

106) See pp. 352-355.

107) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān*, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran, Band IV, Berlin 1932, p. 104, see also p. 105.

Romance of PHILOSTRATUS about the life of Apollonius of Tyana ¹⁰⁸), in which is related that in the time of Apollonius, that is, in the middle of the 1st century A.D., a Phraotes ruled in Taxila, who paid tribute to the barbarians of the North. HERZFELD states that the name "Phraotes" could be the same as the word *apratihata*, which appears on the coins of Gondophernes, and consequently the Phraotes in PHILOSTRATUS' Romance is the same person as Gondophernes. This seems to us quite impossible, in spite of TARN's adhesion to it ¹⁰⁹). There is nothing which linguistically justifies the identification of "Phraotes" with "apratihata", and it is more probable that the name "Phraotes" is the same as one of the two very often occurring Parthian names Phraātes (id est Fra-hāta) or Phraórtes (id est Frawarti) ¹¹⁰). The only conclusion which we might perhaps be able to draw from the communication of PHILOSTRATUS could be that \pm 45 A.D. semi-independent kings still resided at Taxila.

Another western source, the *Excerpta Latina Barbari*, appears, however, to have preserved the name of Gondophernes, viz. as Gathaspar or Gathaspa ¹¹¹), id est Gaspar, Caspar the Indian, one of the three kings of the Christmas tale ¹¹²). We do not dare, however, to use this argument to fix the date of Gondophernes about the time of the birth of Christ. The only thing that can be

108) 2, 26; 78. PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, with an English translation by F. C. CONYBEARE, vol. I, London 1927, pp. 183 seq.

109) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān*, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, Band IV, 1932, p. 101, note 1; TARN, p. 341.

110) See W. PAPE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. III of the *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, Braunschweig 1850, 2nd ed., p. 411 and F. JUSTI, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, pp. 101-103 and 105.

111) In Appendix VI to *Eusebii Chronica*, ed. A. SCHOENE, Berlin 1875, vol. I, p. 228; J. J. SCALIGER, *Thesaurus Temporum*, *Excerpta ex Africani Pentabiblo et Eusebii priore parte Canonum Chronicorum omnimodae historiae, homine barbaro collectore et interprete ineptissimo, utilissima alioquin, et bonae frugis refertissima, nunc primum edita*, 1st ed., Leyden 1606, p. 67; 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1658, p. 81.

112) See A. VON GUTSCHMID, *Die Königsnamen in den apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, *Rheinisches Museum für Philol.*, Neue Folge, vol. XIX, Frankfurt a.M. 1864, pp. 161-183 and 380-401; also in *Kleine Schriften*, vol. II, Leipzig 1890, pp. 332-394 (ed. FRANZ RÜHL); F. JUSTI, *Miscellen zur iranischen Namenkunde*, *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 49, 1895, pp. 681-691, esp. p. 688. "

said on this ground is that the name Gondophernes had apparently penetrated to the Near East of the early Christians (Syria and Armenia), and that it gave the early Fathers of the Church an association with distant India.

In our opinion, just as much or as little historical value can be attached to that other early Christian source, the legend of St. Thomas, the Syrian original of which dates from the 3rd century A.D.; REINAUD ¹¹³), and not CUNNINGHAM ¹¹⁴) as is always maintained ¹¹⁵), was the first to recognize already in 1849, in the name Γουνδαφόρος ¹¹⁶) of the Indian king into whose service St. Thomas entered, the name "Gondophernes" of the coins. We have no doubt whatever about the exactness of this identification; yet it does not seem to be justifiable to us, on the grounds of such a legendary communication only put into writing centuries later, to draw the historical conclusion that consequently Gondophernes must have lived in the fourth decade of the 1st century A.D. ¹¹⁷).

113) J. T. REINAUD, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde, antérieurement au milieu du XI^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, *Mémoire de l'académie nationale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, tome XVIII, 2^e partie, Paris 1849, p. 95.

114) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek Inscriptions*, J.A.S.B., vol. 23, 1854, pp. 679-714.

115) S. LÉVI, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*. III. *Saint Thomas, Gondopharès et Mazdeo*, J.A., 1897, 9^e série, tome IX, pp. 27-42, esp. p. 27; H. KEHRER, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst*, Leipzig 1908-'09, vol. I, p. 69.

116) *Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi*, vol. I, *Acta Thomae*, ed. M. BONNET, Leipzig 1883, pp. 2, 3, 14 and 19.

117) GARBE has the same point of view: "Die genannten ausländischen Gelehrten haben dabei nicht bemerkt, dass sie Opfer eines Trugschlusses geworden sind. Sie haben daraus, dass der König der Thomas-Legende historisch ist, ohne weiteres den Schluss gezogen, dass auch das Apostolat des Thomas in dem Reiche dieses Königs historisch sei, und übersehen, wie ausserordentlich häufig es vorkommt, dass in Legenden, hinter denen niemand einen geschichtlichen Vorgang vermuten wird, eine aus der Geschichte bekannte Persönlichkeit — insbesondere ein König — auftritt", R. GARBE, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen 1914, p. 135; "Vor dem dritten Jahrhundert hat es keinenfalls Christen in den indischen Grenzgebieten gegeben", ibidem, p. 143. See about this subject pp. 128-159. L. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN says, when discussing this question: "Une critique rigoureuse ne retiendra que l'identification de Gudafara avec le roi indien des Actes; indice trop faible pour étayer une lourde thèse. La légende fut élaborée dans un milieu où on savait quelque chose de l'Inde", *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, Paris 1930, p. 280. See also

The only thing that can be said again, is that the name of Gondophernes was already known in the West in the 3rd century A.D., and that the Indian association with his name was the cause that he was connected with the legend of St. Thomas. Probably the phenomenon that legendary persons of different times become contemporaries again crops up here.

The (mistaken) conclusion, drawn from the St. Thomas Acts, that Gondophernes must have lived ± 40 A.D. was the cause that a great gap was created between him and Azes, which scholars tried to fill up by accepting an Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, which now appears to be unnecessary.

Further it is clear that earlier archaeologists then tried to bring the date 103 of the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī, in which Gondophernes is mentioned, into agreement with the (incorrect) date of the reign of Gondophernes, which was accepted on grounds of the St. Thomas Acts. The era, used in the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription must then have had its beginning about 57 B.C. and so the conclusion was obvious to identify this era with the Vikrama era which just began in that year. This reasoning has always been the most important argument in favour of the identification of the old era as the Vikrama era ¹¹⁸). The year 26 mentioned in the inscription would indicate that Gondophernes was already governing for 26 years, so that this covers a period from 19 A.D. to 45 A.D. ¹¹⁹).

We see from this course of affairs, how, on the grounds of the mistaken conclusion drawn from the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, the use of the Vikrama era by the Parthian kings came to be supposed. After all we have said about the use of this era by the Scythian rulers it is not necessary to make any addition to it con-

P. PEETERS' review of DAHLMANN, *Die Thomas-Legende, Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. XXXII, Bruxelles 1913, pp. 75-77. The two Jesuits J. DAHLMANN and A. VÄTH have tried to show that the St. Thomas Acts are historically quite reliable. J. DAHLMANN, *Die Thomas-Legende und die ältesten historischen Beziehungen des Christentums zum fernen Osten*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1912; A. VÄTH, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens, eine Untersuchung über den historischen Gehalt der Thomas-Legende*, Aachen 1925.

118) J. F. FLEET, *St. Thomas and Gondophernes*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 223-236; by the same author *The Date in the Takht-i-Bahi Inscription*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, pp. 706-711; E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, § 62, p. 15.

119) See for instance E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, pp. 576-577.

cerning the Parthian kings. The era of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription is, we think, no exception to the rule and therefore the era used in it is the old era, so that the inscription, in our opinion, dates from the year 26 B.C.

As well as the already before mentioned arguments for this earlier date for Gondophernes, there are still others: In the coin-legends of Gondophernes we find namely, next to the round omikron a square omikron ¹²⁰). This is a distinct proof that we must date this king not long after the year 40 B.C. for although the square omikron appears for the first time on the Parthian coins of Orodes II, 57-37 B.C., we are of the opinion that, on the other hand, this fashion did not last very long. The coins of Kujūla Kadphises still display both forms of the omikron, but on those of Wima, as far as we have been able to trace, the square omikron was no longer used but exclusively the round form, so that in the time of Kujūla Kadphises, ± 25 B.C. to ± 35 A.D., the square omikron must have fallen into disuse. The square omikron therefore was employed for a very limited space of time, and, indeed only from ± 40 B.C. until about the beginning of our era. The appearance of the square omikron on Gondophernes' latest coins we would like to use as another argument against dating him about 40 A.D., or even as HERZFELD will have it, 60 A.D. Moreover, it is not clear how the Parthian kings who reigned after Gondophernes can still be fitted into the scheme of time after ± 40 , or even 60 A.D., and be contemporary with or even before Kujūla Kadphises, when we assume with KONOW that Wima started the Saka era of 78 A.D.

Further the fact that one of Gondophernes' titles on his coins is ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ might point to a fairly early date of this king, as WROTH says that this title is only found on coins of monarchs reigning in the centuries B.C. ¹²¹).

Finally yet one last argument in favour of our opinion of Gondophernes' date and at the same time a proof of the unreliability of

120) E. J. RAPSON, *Notes on Indian Coins and Seals*, part V, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, pp. 285-312, esp. p. 285.

121) W. WROTH, *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, London 1903, p. XXX.

the Acta of St. Thomas: After Gondophernes Abdagases reigned who, on the coins issued by Gondophernes together with him, is clearly indicated as his nephew¹²²). CUNNINGHAM thought already in 1890¹²³) of bringing this Abdagases in connection with the person having an almost similar name, Abdagaeses, mentioned by TACITUS in *Annales* VI, 36, where the events in the year 35 A.D. are related in which Abdagaeses and his son Sinnaces played a part. CUNNINGHAM combines these data with those conveyed by the Indian coins in such a way, that he takes Sinnaces, the son of Abdagaeses in TACITUS, to be the father of the Abdagases of the coins, and thus at the same time a brother of Gondophernes. HERZFELD agrees with this last, but wants Abdagases to be the son of Guḍaṇa, whom he believes to be mentioned on the coins of Gondophernes, and whom he takes to be a brother-in-law of Gondophernes¹²⁴). VÄTH thinks Gad or Guḍaṇa is Gondophernes' brother¹²⁵). KONOW has, in consequence of a suggestion by FLEET, convincingly shown that this "Guḍaṇa" is an adjective derived from "Guḍa", just as "Kuṣāṇa" from "Kuṣa", so that we must consider "Guḍaṇa" as a pedigree-indication of Gondophernes in the style of "Kuṣāṇa"¹²⁶). Moreover, the fact that on the reverse of some of Orthagnes' coins Guḍaṇa in stead of Gondophernes is mentioned, gives another proof in our opinion for this view as we will see further on when discussing the Orthagnes coins¹²⁷). Consequently this last point of HERZFELD's theory, viz. that Gondophernes had a brother-in-law Guḍaṇa, is not proved. It is, moreover, not clear what gives CUNNINGHAM and HERZFELD the right to make Sinnaces the brother of Gondophernes, and to suppose two persons named Abdagases in the place of one. The explanation for this strange

122) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, p. 107.

123) A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of the Sakas, Class B: Coins of the Sakas or Sacae-Scythians*, *Num. Chron.*, 3rd series, vol. X, 1890, p. 119.

124) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān*, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, Band IV, pp. 79-80.

125) A. VÄTH, *Der hl. Thomas der Apostel Indiens, eine Untersuchung über den historischen Gehalt der Thomas-Legende*, pp. 29 and 77.

126) *Corpus*, p. XLVI.

127) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, p. 155.

conception of TACITUS' text is as follows: The date of Gondophernes founded on the legend of St. Thomas does not tally with the Roman source, and so another Abdagases was added. It seems to us, however, to be more advisable, if we must choose between the trustworthiness of the St. Thomas Acts and that of TACITUS, to give preference to the latter, as this author had at his disposal very authentic sources and the relative trustworthiness of TACITUS' writings is universally recognized. The data we have at our service and on which we can build up the history of this time, are as follows:

According to TACITUS, there lives in 35 A.D. an Abdagaeses, who has a grown-up son Sinnaces. In India we have coins of Gondophernes who partly issues coins together with his nephew Abdagases, who also independently strikes coins with the legends "GUDUPHARABHRATAPUTRASA MAHARAJASA TRATARASA AVADAGAŚASA" and "MAHARAJASA RAJATIRAJASA GADAPHARABHRATAPUTRASA AVADAGAŚASA". The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from these data is, we think, that Abdagaeses of TACITUS and of the coins must be one and the same person. If Abdagaeses was an old man in 35 A.D., then the time when he took part in the government as viceroy, as a rather young man, at the end of Gondophernes' reign, must be about 10 B.C. Consequently the reign of Gondophernes must have been about 30-10 B.C., which we already have suggested on other grounds. With these arguments for a reign of Gondophernes earlier than is generally supposed, we will now leave this subject.

There is, however, still one point which we should like to touch upon in connection with this king. A number of coins of the type "standing Nikè", such as was used by Gondophernes has been found, but with the following legend:

obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗΣ

reverse: MAHARAJASA RAJATIRAJASA MAHATASA GUDUPHARASA
GUDANA.

According to HERZFELD ¹²⁸) this Orthagnes (which name is equivalent to Verethragna) must be the anonymous person mentioned

128) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, Band IV, pp. 102-104.

by TACITUS in *Annales* XIII, 7: In 55-58 A.D. a son of Vardanes rises up against Vologases I. This "filius Vardanis" without a name would then be the same as Orthagnes¹²⁹), under whom Gondophernes, according to HERZFELD, struck coins as viceroy. We do not see any foundation for this hypothesis. Firstly, the text is here perhaps unreliable. NIPPERDEY-ANDRESEN suspects that it must be "filius Vardanes", so that the person in question, did, in fact, possess a name¹³⁰). As HERZFELD himself remarks: "... sind die Orthagnes-Münzen denen von Gundopharrs Nachfolger Pakores so ähnlich, dass die Rückseiten ohne Lesen der Inschrift nicht zu unterscheiden sind. Die Orthagnes-Münzen stammen also fraglos aus den späten Jahren Gundopharrs." ¹³¹) Should HERZFELD's theory be correct, then the great King Gondophernes would have been at the end of his reign a viceroy to another Parthian king, Orthagnes. RAPSON believes Gondophernes succeeded Orthagnes¹³²), while JUSTI¹³³), OTTO¹³⁴), and SCHUR¹³⁵) believe they were brothers. To us these hypotheses do not seem very probable. If a humiliation as HERZFELD proposes could have befallen Gondophernes, then it was more likely to come from the Kuṣāṇas than from the Parthian side. Moreover, it is definitely strange that Orthagnes and Gondophernes bear equally high titles on both sides of the coins. This was also the case with Azes and Azilises, and convinces us that presumably we have here again two different names for one and the same person. This time the two names are not so similar as was the

129) E. HERZFELD, *ibidem*, p. 103.

130) "... hätte Tacitus einen solchen (viz. filius Vardanis) genannt, so würde er dessen eigenen Namen angegeben haben", NIPPERDEY-ANDRESEN, 2nd ed., Berlin 1855, p. 75. W. SCHUR believes the text to be correct, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero, Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), Leipzig 1923, p. 73.

131) E. HERZFELD, *Sakastān, Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, Band IV, p. 103.

132) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 578.

133) F. JUSTI, *Geschichte Irans, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Ausgang der Sāsāniden, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von W. GEIGER und E. KUHN, Band II, Strassburg 1896-1904, pp. 395-550, esp. p. 507.

134) W. OTTO, s.v. *Hyndopherres*, PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. IX, Stuttgart 1916, col. 183-191, esp. p. 191.

135) W. SCHUR, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero, Klio, Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), Leipzig 1923, p. 77.

case with Azes and Azilises. We might be able to explain this by supposing that "Orthagnes" was a surname or title of Gondophernes¹³⁶). It seems to us that we can make this more acceptable. "Gondophernes" corresponds to the Persian "Vindapharna", which signifies "the winner of majestic glory"¹³⁷). "Orthagnes" is the graecized form of the Persian "Verethragna", meaning "the victorious", so that both names, in our opinion, point in the same direction and the Nikè figure on Gondophernes' coins is perhaps a symbolic emphasis of this surname. Such parallels of person's names occur in the whole field of Greater-Indian culture¹³⁸).

Confirming this idea, and at the same time in connection with the foregoing, we should like, moreover, to suggest concerning the *apratihata* (which HERZFELD identified with the name "Phraotes" of the king whom Apollonius of Tyana found in Taxila about the middle of the 1st century B.C.) that it is the Sanskrit equivalent of Gondophernes' title "Orthagnes": "Apratihata" means "the irresistible", "the undefeated", "the triumphant". Earlier already this epitheton ornans had been used on coins, "inter alia" by Lysias (who writes ANIKHTOS as an equivalent on the reverse) and still later by Rājūvula in the compound *apratihatacakra*¹³⁹) which obviously proves that HERZFELD's opinion about this word is incorrect. The epitheton Verethragna continues to exist at the Sas-

136) After this had been written down we found that KONOW also thought that the two names concerned one and the same person.

137) Noteworthy, because it is curious, is CUNNINGHAM's explanation of the name "Gondophernes" as "Gāṇḍa-phor", i.e. "sugarcane-crusher". CUNNINGHAM arrived at this peculiar opinion on grounds of the fact that the channels for the cane-juice of a sugar-mill are chiselled in the same form as the Gondophernes-monograph ☩. See A. CUNNINGHAM, *Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek Inscriptions*, J.A.S.B., vol. 23, 1854, pp. 679-714, esp. p. 712.

138) The different names of King Candragupta II give a nice instance of this: Vikramāditya, Ajitavikrama, Vikramāṅka, Siṃhavikrama, Siṃhacandra, Devagupta, Devaśrī, Devarāja, see L. DE LA VALLÉE-POUSSIN, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka*, Paris 1935, p. 47. Our attention was drawn to this list by Prof. GONDA. Another instance is the consecration-names of King Kṛtanagara of Singasari: Jñānaśivabajra, Jñānabajreśvara and Jñāneśvarabajra, see N. J. KROM, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 2nd ed., Den Haag 1931, p. 341.

139) P. GARDNER, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pp. 29 and 67.

sanian court for some time as the coronation-name of different kings. The coins mentioned on which Gondophernes calls himself Orthagnes must, in our opinion, have been struck at the end of his reign. Not only because they, as HERZFELD already remarked, strikingly resemble those of Gondophernes' successor, Pakura, but also because the round form of sigma C which appears on them represents the last stage of the development which this character undergoes (see textfig. 29 on p. 378).

Resuming, we see therefore, that we need not suppose the confused situation of Gondophernes as viceroy of an unknown Orthagnes. This again supports our belief that Guḍaṇa is a pedigree-indication, for we see that coins with Orthagnes on the obverse mention Guḍaṇa on the reverse.

If Abdagases succeeded Gondophernes in his Indian domains, then this was not for long, for his coins are scarce. Another Parthian king, Pakura, Πακορης, issues coins, just as Gondophernes did, with the General Sasa, a relative of Aśpavarma¹⁴⁰), and he therefore probably immediately succeeds Gondophernes as independent king. Abdagases was perhaps driven out by Pakura to the West, where he is mentioned by TACITUS.

Possibly we find already under Gondophernes the Kuṣāṇas in the Punjāb, for Kujūla Kadphises seems, according to KONOW, to be mentioned in the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī in 103 = 26 B.C. as Kapa erjhuna, so, as a young prince. In 122 = 7 B.C. there is no longer any doubt about this and we find him as lord and master in Panjtār, and apparently the Kuṣāṇas have taken over the territory west of the Indus from the Parthians, be it perhaps only for a short time. In 136 or 7 A.D. we find Kujūla Kadphises also in Taxila, on the other bank of the Indus, as appears from the silver scroll of that year discovered there. Afterwards we only hear again of the Kuṣāṇas in the inscription of Khalatse of 187 = 58 A.D. in which Wima Kadphises is mentioned. It is quite probable that in the intermediate period the Kuṣāṇas had only nominal power over these North Indian territories, especially on the east side of

140) R. B. WHITEHEAD, *The Dynasty of the General Aspavarma*, *Num. Chron.*, 6th series, vol. IV, 1944, pp. 99-104.

the Indus. The *Hou han shu* remarks very emphatically that Wima Kadphises in his turn conquered T'ien-chu; which Indian territory is meant does not matter here. It seems therefore that a previous decline of Kuṣāṇa power had taken place, and this is in accordance with the information in the Romance of PHILOSTRATUS that Apollonius of Tyana still met a Parthian king Phraotes in Taxila about the middle of the 1st century A.D., who was obliged to pay tribute to the barbarians of the North. MARSHALL also presumes a temporary decline of the power of the Kuṣāṇas ¹⁴¹).

Probably the person to whom this Parthian king was obliged to pay tribute was Wima Kadphises. The Parthian kings Sapedana and Satavastra, whose coins were found in Taxila, reigned, judging by these coins, in that city during the reign of Pakura and before the afore-mentioned Phraotes. It is to this period of decay of Parthian power after the mighty King Gondophernes (in which through their coins we hear about different, for the rest unknown Parthian kings), that the report of the *Periplus* refers: . . . κατὰ νότου μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ · βασιλεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Πάρθων, συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐκδιωκόντων. ¹⁴²)

We have seen that for different reasons Kujūla Kadphises seems to have begun his career in the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. There are still several other arguments to be advanced for this. First of all the fact that Kujūla Kadphises struck coins with Hermaeus. When discussing this argument we can, at the same time, make it clear how careful one must be in drawing conclusions. KONOW, proceeding from the fact that FAN YE seems to mention only incidents later than 25 A.D., and thinking in connection with his theory regarding the commencement of Kaniṣka's reign, that Kujūla Kadphises therefore at the earliest could have begun his career only after 25 A.D., and stating that Kujūla Kadphises issued coins together with Hermaeus, concludes that Hermaeus therefore

141) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-'30, pp. 55-97, esp. p. 57.

142) Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, ed. HJALMAR FRISK, *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, vol. XXXIII, Göteborg 1927, § 38, p. 13.

reigned until about 30 A.D.¹⁴³). RAPSON, however, thought that Hermaeus reigned about 40 B.C.¹⁴⁴). TARN also, on the grounds of his data about the Greek kings, concludes a date for Hermaeus of before 48 until \pm 30 B.C.¹⁴⁵). Starting from this point TARN, attaching belief to KONOW's theory that Kujūla Kadphises only began to reign in 25 A.D., concluded that the "joint issue" of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises is impossible, and that Kujūla Kadphises only imitated the coins, because he was a relative of Hermaeus, and at the same time hoped to get the Greeks who lived in his country to side with him against the Parthians. The one reason seems to us to be even more fantastic than the other¹⁴⁶); the more so, as usurpation or a joint rule is always accepted in the case of a "joint issue". An exception would have to be made to this, and so it would have to be assumed then, that Kujūla Kadphises imitated, for such a far fetched reason, the coins of a Greek king who reigned at least 55 years before him. TARN himself apparently feels the weakness of his argument, judging by his last words: "The old belief that these coins were a joint issue of Hermaeus and Kadphises I has in consequence been universally abandoned, for it is recognised that a considerable interval of time separated the two kings; *but nothing else has taken its place.*"¹⁴⁷) Indeed there is nothing that can bridge over the gap of 55 or more years, and it appears to us that it is unwise to attack violently the now once for all clearly evident "joint issue". We must therefore choose between the calculations of TARN about the date of Hermaeus based on his other data about the Greek kings in Bactria and India, and the theory of KONOW about the com-

143) *Corpus*, p. XLII.

144) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 562.

145) TARN, pp. 326 and 497.

146) TARN, pp. 339, 343 and Appendix 17. Even for E. BAZIN-FOUCHER who generally has great praise for TARN's theories—witness her expression: "simplement grace au don de divination qu'il a reçu du ciel et qui est la sorte de génie des historiens", this representation of affairs is too much. In her review of *The Greeks in Bactria and India* in *J.A.*, tome 230, 1938, pp. 501-528, she says on page 518: "... ces hypothèses ... n'emportent plus la conviction du lecteur."

147) TARN, pp. 338-339. Italicized by us.

mencement of Kujūla Kadphises' career which connects with his whole hypothesis about the beginning of Kaniška's reign. It seems to us then, that our choice, without hesitation, must fall upon the first. Against KONOW's hypothesis sufficient arguments have been advanced in the preceding pages, and the calculations of TARN in so far as they concern the Greek kings tally nearly always excellently with our outline of the history of the Scythians, unless he again seeks support from KONOW as in this case.

Consequently Kujūla Kadphises' reign, in our opinion, connects directly with that of Hermaeus which, we believe, ended about 25 B.C. Accordingly Kujūla Kadphises began his career at the beginning of the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. (and this would confirm KONOW's opinion that he is mentioned in the inscription of Takht-i-Bāhī of the year 103 = 26 B.C. as a young prince). Moreover the evidence of the discoveries at Taxila affirms that Kujūla Kadphises was partly contemporary with and partly later than Gondophernes and succeeded him at that place¹⁴⁸). As Kujūla Kadphises probably did not conquer Taxila at the beginning of his career we are justified in saying that this monarch started on his career somewhere about 25 B.C.

In connection with the shortly before discussed joint issue of Kujūla Kadphises and Hermaeus we must now bring forward the following. MARSHALL remarks in one of his reports¹⁴⁹) that a remarkable fact came to light during his excavations, viz. that in Taxila he found many coin-specimens of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises as well as the joint issue type, in strata dating after Gondophernes, and also in strata of "the early half of the first century B.C." (This last must undoubtedly be a misprint: "B.C." instead of "A.D.", for elsewhere in the article coins of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises are mentioned as of "the early half of the first century A.D.") The for MARSHALL seemingly inexplicableness and absurdity of coins of Hermaeus and Kujūla Kadphises of the first half of the 1st century A.D. and at the same time after

148) E. J. RAPSON, *C.H.I.*, vol. I, p. 562.

149) J. MARSHALL, *Excavations at Taxila, A.S.I.A.R.*, 1929-'30, pp. 55-97, esp. p. 56.

Gondophernes, is for us who date Gondophernes at the end of the 1st century B.C. nothing more than a plea for our conception.

But numismatics provide still more arguments. It is a generally known fact that many gold Roman coins have been found in India. They were the legal tender of merchants from the West, who, taking advantage of the monsoons, came to buy spices and other valuable articles in India. These Roman coins date for the greater part from the time of the Julian-Claudian dynasty. The series of coins after this breaks off suddenly, and therefore the coins date chiefly from the reign of Augustus, until and including Nero, id est 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. This phenomenon made SCHUR remark that the Julian coins seem to have had a high value in India¹⁵⁰). THIEL ingeniously explained this sudden break in the stream of Roman coins by the depreciation of the money under Nero¹⁵¹). The silver money was alloyed and the gold lessened in weight.

Now we have many gold coins of Wima Kadphises and the kings after him. The gold standard was imitated from the Roman aureus which was instituted by Augustus. KENNEDY formerly doubted whether the standard of the Indian coins was indeed that of Augustus¹⁵²). His argumentation was, however, not at all convincing and very weak, so that it has been refuted by many. It is obvious that the motive to mint gold coins under Wima Kadphises must be sought for in the enormous influx of Roman coins between the years 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. A copper coin of Kujūla Kadphises¹⁵³) with the representation of the king's head proves that

150) W. SCHUR, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, *Klio*, Beiheft XV (Neue Folge, Heft II), 1923, p. 57.

151) J. H. THIEL, *Eudoxus van Cyzicus (Een hoofdstuk uit de Geschiedenis van de Vaart op Indië en de Vaart om de Zuid in de Oudheid)*, *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, deel 2, N^o 8, Amsterdam 1939, p. 266.

152) J. KENNEDY, *The Secret of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 665-688 and 981-1019, esp. pp. 996-1001; and by the same author *Kanishka's Greek*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 121-124; *Sidelights on Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 369-378; *Fresh Light on Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 664-669; *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 920-939. FLEET agrees with KENNEDY in *The Date of Kanishka*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 913-920, esp. p. 916.

153) See R. B. WHITEHEAD, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, vol. I, pl. XVII, 24.



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May 22, 1994

Dr. Samuel Hugh Moffett
Princeton Theological Seminary
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Dear Dr. Moffett,

Enclosed is my review of your book which appeared in the American Historical Review 99 (April, 1994). As I expected, they printed the shorter version.

For your information, I have enclosed a page from John M. Rosenfield's book on Gondophares.

As to the problem of the ethnic identity of Mark, which I had noted (on pp. 411, 431) as either an Uighur or an Ongut, I believe that the enclosed pages from a posthumous work by Paul Pelliot may help to clarify the problem. He notes that the Syriac history of Yaballaha III (published by J. A. Montgomery and E. A. W. Budge) does not give the identity of Mark or of his companion, Sauma (p. 242), but an Arabic Nestorian writer identified Yaballaha as a "Turk"; the Jacobite Bar Hebraeus in a gloss indicated that Turk meant "Uighur." Pelliot, on the other hand, suggested that he was probably an Ongut in T'oung-Pao in 1914, a position which he reaffirms with considerable detail (pp. 242-46).

You may be interested in a new book by Jerry H. Bentley, Old World Encounters (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), which deals in part with the Nestorian Christians in China.

Yours truly,

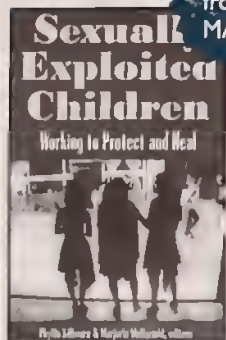
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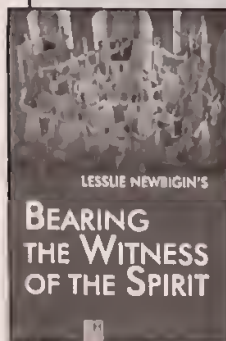


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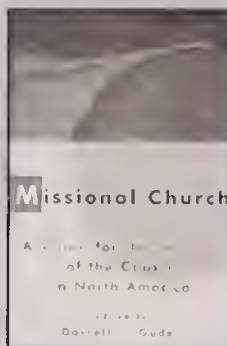
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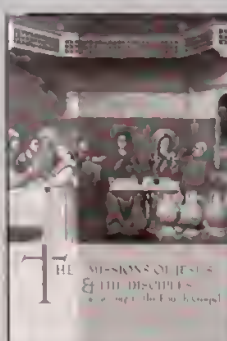


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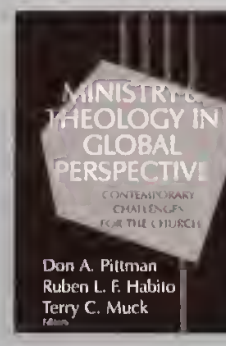
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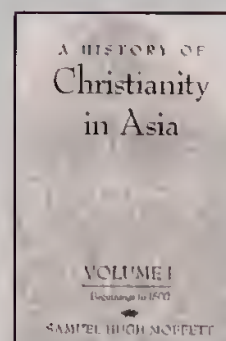


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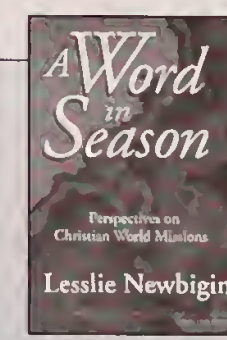
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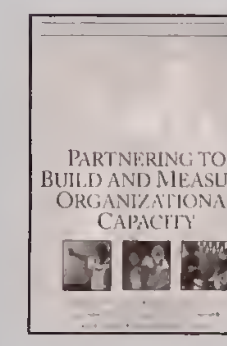


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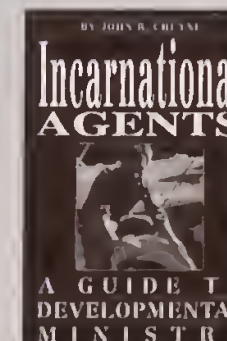
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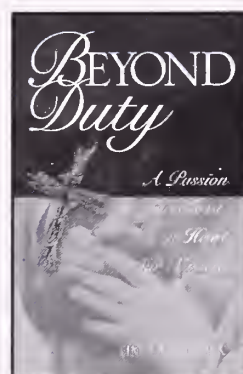
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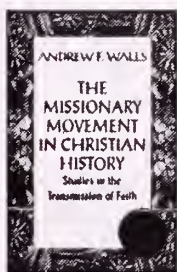
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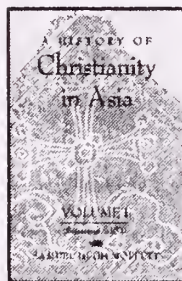
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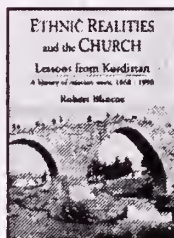
Monarch MARC/Evangelical Missionary Alliance (U.K.), 1989, paper, 315 pp.

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Robert Blincoe



This remarkable book fairly bristles with insights about how to get beyond centuries-old misunderstandings and move forward effectively with Biblical faith in the world of Islam. Its lessons apply equally well in Hindu

and Buddhist spheres

Taken to heart, this book can produce a dynamic new era in the greater part of the world of missions! Its appeal can easily

by Francis X. Cloney
Boston College,

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA. Volume I: Beginnings to 1500.

By Samuel Hugh Moffett.

(Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998; revised from the 1992 HarperCollins edition).

Pp. xxvi + 560. \$25.00 (paper).

On April 19th of this year Pope John Paul II presided at the opening Eucharistic liturgy for the Synod of Bishops for Asia, one in a series of synods in preparation for the millennium. In his homily the Pope recalled that it was St. Thomas the Apostle who first brought Christianity into Asia, charting the Church's movement eastward across this vast continent where more than three fifths of the world's population now live. The pope urged the assembled church leaders to find new vigor for the proclamation of Christ in Asia: "Ours is the task of writing new chapters of Christian witness in every part of the world, and in Asia: from India to Indonesia, from Japan to Lebanon, from Korea to Kazakhstan, from Vietnam to the Philippines, from Siberia to China... We want to listen to what the Spirit says to the Churches, so that they may proclaim Christ in the context of Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism and all those currents of thought and life which were already rooted in Asia before the preaching of the Gospel arrived." Subsequent synod discussions introduced realistic, diverse and hopeful views on the Church in Asia today.

Asia is of course a vast continent blessed with diverse cultures and, as Samuel H. Moffett (Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission at Princeton Theological Seminary) convincingly reminds us in this masterful volume, it is also the home of very ancient civilizations. Christianity itself has had a long Asian history, right from its birth — in west Asia. With Moffett's help, we move from the travels of Thomas the Apostle (the

tradition of whose visit to India Moffett respects as quite probable) all the way to the arrival of the Western Europeans in India by sea in 1498 (opening a new era, to be treated in volume II). We learn about the growth of Christian communities in the east, the establishment of vibrant churches in Syria and Persia, the dramatic (and traumatic) changes that took place in such communities with the rise of Islam, as well as the centuries of interaction with Muslims thereafter. We glimpse the founding in India of Christian churches which endure to this day, communities in the empire of Genghis Khan, missions to China as early as the 7th century, and even some hints of Christian presence as distant as Korea, Japan and southeast Asia.

The places and time periods covered here are vast and daunting, but Moffett's presentation, though encyclopedic and detailed, enables reader to delve selectively into sections of that long history. Consider, for instance, what we learn about Nestorian Christians. Nestorius (d. 451) is known to most of us mainly as a heretic who failed to affirm the unity of one person, divine and human, in Christ. Moffett rehearses for us the tumultuous politics and intrigues that led to his condemnation, and summarizes for us information (uncovered in the 19th century) which has encouraged some theologians to rehabilitate Nestorius as a thinker within the boundaries of orthodoxy. He implicitly strengthens the case for rehabilitation by highlighting the vigor of Nestorian communities throughout Asia, from Persia to China. For it turns out that the condemnation of Nestorius' teachings in 431 was only an early moment in a promising history of Nestorian Christianity, a history essential to our understanding of Christianity in pre-modern Asia, where the Nestorian connection surfaces frequently and unexpectedly.

For example, Pope Innocent IV sent several missions to the Mongol princes of central Asia in hopes of converting them and keeping them out of Europe. In 1245, he sent John of Plano Carpini (a disciple of Francis of Assisi) who eventually had an audience with Kuyuk, grandson of Genghis Khan. Although their conversation did not lead to the Khan's conversion, Kuyuk did send a return letter to the Pope, asserting his own authority and challenging the pope to explain how he knew that his religion was the only true one. The pope apparently did not rise to this challenge, but in 1253 he sent another missionary ambassador, William of Rubruck, who met with Kuyuk's successor, Mongke. William engaged in a formal debate with Buddhist monks and Nestorians — and Manichaeans and Muslims — all of whom (by his own account) William handily defeated. Unfortunately, however, their response to defeat was not conversion, but only loud singing followed by heavy drinking. After that, William returned to Europe while the Nestorians remained behind, evidently comfortable in their Asian home.

By the time Mateo Ricci and his Jesuit companions set up their mission in China in the late 16th century, the old Nestorian community had already died out, but in 1623 workmen dug up an eighth century monument which commemorated the arrival of Nestorians in the Chinese capital in 635. The massive tablet recounted their presentation of Christian teachings in Chinese terms — almost a millennium before the Jesuits began their similarly "novel" project of immersion in Chinese language and culture.

The book is filled with data to undergird many such fresh perspectives on Christianity in Asia; it merits close reading as the year 2000 approaches and as we remember the 500th anniversary of Vasco da Gamma's arrival in western India "seeking Christians and spices." And what will the next

millennium bring? Moffett himself ends on a somewhat gloomy note, with chapters entitled "The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia" and "The Church in the Shadows." He points to several factors (such as political intrigue, persecution, the rise and fall of empires) which limited the endurance of churches in Asia. His own view is that conflicts within Christian communities and their undue compromises for the sake of survival most severely diminished their vitality. If only Christians overcome their ethnic and social differences and stood firm in the message of the Gospel, perhaps Asia would have become Christian a long time ago.

One enduring lesson, certainly, is that we certainly should not try to repeat the past. The era covered in this volume is over, as is the age of a Western Christianity which traveled to Asia with the colonial powers. Local churches and indigenous Christian communities are now flourishing again in most Asian countries, and as both the recent Synod and World Council of Churches meetings suggest, these communities have their own voices and are increasingly willing to raise them. So too, most people today are developing new attitudes toward religion; the dialogue of Asian Christians with their Hindu and Buddhist and Muslim and Confucian brothers and sisters will be a distinctive feature of this renewed presence of Christianity in Asia. After the rest of us have been fully drawn into this dialogue, Asia will once again be a primary wellspring of global Christian identity.

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John C. England, *The Hidden History of Christianity in Asia: The Churches of the East before the year 1500*. Delhi & Hong Kong, 1996. xiii + 203 s.
Samuel Hugh Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia, vol. I: Beginnings to 1500*. Second revised edition, New York 1998. xxvii + 560 s.

The old church history of Asia before the European discoverers and missionaries arrived in the 16th century is a fascinating, though often neglected history. Very often even Asians think of church history through the medieval ages as a history of the two great Churches of Europe, the Roman-Catholic Church of the West and the Greek-Orthodox Church of the East. There is, however, no doubt that this view is wrong. Historically speaking, the Church of the East is the Asian Church. It spread very rapidly to India and Syria, and got a strong centre under the Sassanids in Persia. From there it spread as a result of conscious missionary work through Central Asia to China, where the first missionaries arrived long before their European counterparts had reached the northern parts of Europe! We may safely conclude, then, that the old Asian Church was a powerful Church that was very much alive; it must therefore certainly be included in a historically well-founded view of the church of the world.

The books that are selected for this review enforce this perspective very strongly. Samuel Hugh Moffett is Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission Emeritus at Princeton Theological Seminary, and has his Asian background from Korea and China. He has in his *A History of Christianity in Asia, vol. I*, written the first part of what undoubtedly will be considered the standard work on the history of Asian Christianity for a long time. The book was originally published in 1992, but has been out of print, and is therefore recently released in a new and slightly revised edition. In volume two, which is due soon, the author will follow the history of Asian Christianity till our time.

Moffett gives a broad and detailed presentation of the old Asian Church. He first presents and discusses the traditions concerning the work of the Apostle Thomas in India and the old Indian Church. He then goes on to concentrate on the Church in Syria and (particularly) in Persia, and presents its battles, victories and failures, and its relation to the various rulers and dynasties. In contrast to Europe, Asia never got an emperor who made the Church the central religious institution of the empire. Under the Persian Sassanids and their successors, Arab and Persian Muslims, the church experienced both severe persecution, but also long periods of toleration. During these periods, the church could both organise and expand, and Moffett tells the story of both.

The old Asian Church in the end, however, all but disappeared, and was by 1500 found only in two small enclaves, one in northern Syria and one in southern India. Moffett also shows how this happened. The Church's relation to the Mongol Empire of Genghis Khan and his successors is here important. This Empire, which encompassed all Asia from China to eastern Europe, was relatively tolerant toward the Church, and many Christians held powerful positions. When this Empire collapsed during the 14th century and was followed in part by extremely militant Muslims rulers (Tamerlane!), the Church could not cope. It disappeared in China and Central Asia, and barely survived in Syria and India.

A traditional explanation of the collapse of the Asian Church has been to draw attention to its Nestorianism with the implication that it was weakened by heresy. Moffett explains in detail the historical background for the Nestorianism of the Asian Church, but he concludes that one cannot consider this Church as heretical. On the contrary, all essential elements of the traditional historical Christian faith are found the central

documents of this Church. He is more inclined to view the Church as weakened by persecutions and opposition from the rulers. At the same time, to keep even a minimum of administrative and ecclesiastical unity throughout the immense Asian continent is barely possible in times of peace, and virtually impossible in times of war. In addition, the church in Asia faced strong and self-conscious opposition from Persian Zoroastrianism, Arab Islam and Chinese Confucianism and Buddhism. And even in Asia, the church had to struggle with the problem of internal strife and division. There is, e.g., no doubt that both the fights between Jacobite Monophysites and Nestorians in Syria and Persia, and between Nestorians and Roman-Catholic missionaries in Mongol China contributed to the weakening of the church in Asia.

After having worked through Moffett's book, one is well informed concerning the development of Asian Christianity in its various political environments. One is, however, not as well informed of the inner life of the Church; Moffett gives priority to the problems of (church) politics at the expense of questions related to theology and liturgy. At least this reader would like to be informed on these aspects of the life of the church as well. There is no doubt, however, that Moffett has laid an excellent foundation for our knowledge of the Asian Church, upon which future scholars can build.

England's book gives additional help in this respect. England has worked for a long time in Hong Kong, and has written a short presentation of Asian Christianity which is arranged geographically; he traces the spreading of Christianity through Asia from Persia and Arabia eastward to Korea and Japan. Instead of broad presentation of the development, he gives a short presentation of sources and relevant literature for the various periods and countries. The main value of this book is thus that it gives an overview over the literature, which in this field sometimes is quite hard to get. One may read the book as a summary of Asian church history, it is, however, probably of greater value as a basic orientation for research in this field.

Knut Alfsvåg
Kobe Lutheran Theological Seminary

sion in the late nineteenth century among the Hakka of Kwangtung Province in South China, featuring the centrality in evangelization of eight pioneer Chinese as missionaries.

Massey, James. *Down Trodden: The Struggle of India's Dalits for Identity, Solidarity and Liberation.* (Risk Book Series, 79). Geneva, Switzerland: WCC Publications, 1997. ix, 82 pp. \$6.75, paper. 2825412309.

A Dalit Christian uncovers the religious roots of this system of oppression in India, traces its 3,500-year history and the beginnings of the Dalits' struggle for liberation.

Moffett, Samuel Hugh. *A History of Christianity in Asia: Vol. I: Beginnings to 1500.* Second revised and corrected edition. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. xxvi, 560 pp. \$25.00, paper. 1570751626.

This second edition of Moffett's history contains corrections and additions on the Armenian church.

Yule, Jean. *About Face in China: Eight Australians' Experience of the Chinese Revolution 1945-1951.* Melbourne, Australia: The Joint Board of Christian Education, 1995. xviii, 284 pp. \$20.00, paper. 1864070404.

Six Australian missionaries tell the story of their work with the Church of Christ in China amidst revolution.

EUROPE

Douma, M., et al. *Meisjes van heinde en ver.* Contributions by Marianne Dourna, et al. (Allerwegen 16). Kampen, The Netherlands: Uitgeverij Kok, 1994. 83 pp. NP, paper. 9024220874.

Six essays discuss the concerns and programs of Dutch Reformed churches for the human rights and treatment of young girls and women from developing countries who are forced by circumstances of poverty and tradition into local or foreign employment.

Joyce, Timothy J. *Celtic Christianity: A Sacred Tradition, a Vision of Hope.* Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. xi, 180 pp. \$14.00, paper. 1570751765.

A Benedictine monk of Irish descent, and past president of the American Benedictine Academy, recovers the 1,600-year history of Celtic spirituality, monasticism, and missionary endeavor.

Wijsen, Frans. *Geloven bij het leven: Missionaire presentie in een volkswijk.* (UTP-katern, 19). Baarn, The Netherlands: Gooi en Sticht, 1997. 221 pp. NLD 44.81, paper. 9030409274.

The author links the shared elements of global mission theory and practical theology (communication, social analysis, theological reflection, and pastoral planning) to his experience serving the pastoral needs of the industrial district of Maastricht, The Netherlands.

OCEANIA

Carey, Hilary M. *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions.* (The Australian Experience). St. Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1996. xviii, 270 pp. \$27.95, paper. 1863739505.

A socio-cultural history of religions in Australia, including aboriginal voices, missionary impact, the churches of the migrants, women's contributions, responses to secularization, and the growth of sects.

Blugosz, Maria. *Mae Enga Myths and Christ's Message: Fullness of Life in Mae Enga Mythology and Christ the Life (Jn 10: 10).* (Studia Instituti Missiologici Societatis Verbi Divini, 66). Nettetal, Germany: Steyler Verlag, 1998. xii, 302 pp., NP, paper. 3805004036.

A detailed comparison of the worldview and myths of the Mae Enga people of Papua New Guinea with that of Christ in the Gospel of John, originally presented as a Ph.D. dissertation at the Gregorian University in Rome in 1995.

with an introduction by Benjamin Clark. Notre Dame, IN: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1998. xxi, 253 p. \$45.00. 0-268-00928-7.

Louis Massignon, professor of Islamic sociology at the Collège de France, was a "brilliant linguist, prolific author, man of action, ambassador-at-large, adventurer, scientist, poet, mystic, and radical humanitarian." In 1950 he was ordained a Melkite priest. This study consists of a technical analysis of Islamic mystical vocabulary followed by a detailed survey of the lives of the Muslim mystics of the first centuries of Islam. Benjamin Clark has edited his translation in the light of Massignon's and other scholars' additions and corrections.

MATTHEWS, Victor Harold & Benjamin, Don C. *Old Testament parallels: laws and stories from the ancient Near East.* Fully revised and expanded edition. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997. xiv, 384 p. Pap. \$19.95. 0-8091-3731-3.

Victor Matthews teaches OT/Hebrew Bible at Southwest Missouri State University; Don Benjamin is executive director of the Kino Institute of Theology in Phoenix, Arizona. This is a collection of stories and laws in English translation from Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt. They are arranged in the order of the OT books, together with introductions, references to sources, maps, drawings, a bibliography, and an index. New documents in this edition include The Stories of Adapa, the Archives of Ebla, Ishtar and Tammuz, the Nuzi Archives, the teachings of Khety, and the laws of Ur-Nammu.

MENN, Stephen Philip. *Descartes and Augustine.* New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998. xvi, 415 p. \$59.95. 0-521-41702-3.

Stephen Menn of McGill University notes that in Descartes' time "there was a hope of constructing out of Augustine a new philosophy to replace that of Aristotle." This book seeks to show how Descartes did this. In Part One Menn shows "how Augustine appropriated and transformed the Plotinian discipline of contemplation, and how he used it to derive intuitions of soul and God and a solution to the problem of the origin of evil." Part Two shows how Descartes used this Plotinian and Augustinian discipline of contemplating the soul and God to found a science for the 17th century.

MESSORI, Vittorio. *Opus Dei: leadership and vision in today's Catholic Church.*

Translated from the Italian by Gerald Malsbary. Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 1997. xvii, 201 p. \$27.50. 0-89526-450-1.

Vittorio Messori is an Italian journalist whose interviews with Pope John Paul II formed the basis for the pope's book *Crossing the Threshold of Hope*. He presents "in the language of a journalist" what he learned "by spending almost a year alongside people in Opus Dei and seeing how they actually live and work." He also comments on the views of supporters and opponents of this secular institute and prelacy which was founded by Blessed Josémaría Escrivá de Balaguer y Albas (1902-1975).

METZ, Johannes Baptist. *A passion for God: the mystical-political dimension of Christianity.* By Johann Baptist Metz. Edited and translated with an introduction by J. Matthew Ashley. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1997. iv, 212 p. Pap. \$19.95. 0-8091-3755-0.

Father Metz, who teaches at the University of Vienna, has been called "the founder of political theology in Europe." Matthew Ashley of the University of Notre Dame has collected and translated 10 of Metz' previously untranslated essays from the 1980s and 1990s and has written an introduction. Father Metz provides a foreword. The essays treat Metz's understanding of his own theology, his appreciation of Karl Rahner, the church after Auschwitz, theology and the university, the role of religion in society, and the role of religious orders in the church.

MISSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: an evangelical approach. Edited by William J. Larkin, Jr., and Joel F. Williams. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. xiii, 266 p. (American Society of Missiology series, n. 27) Pap. \$20.00. 1-57075-169-2.

This study of mission in the NT is the work of 11 NT scholars associated with Columbia International University. The volume honors the 75th anniversary of that missionary-sending institution. After essays on mission in the OT, intertestamental Judaism, the teachings of Jesus, and the early church, nine essays examine mission in individual NT books.

MOFFETT, Samuel Hugh. *A history of Christianity in Asia. Volume I: Beginnings to 1500.* Second edition. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. xxvi, 560 p. Pap. \$25.00. 1-57075-162-5.

TD Book Survey
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1999

✓ Samuel Moffett is Henry W. Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission Emeritus at Princeton Theological Seminary. This is a revised and corrected edition of the 1992 edition published by HarperSanFrancisco. The main addition is a more extensive coverage of the Armenian Church. The author begins with early missions to India and an evaluation of the Thomas tradition. Then he treats the early and later Sassanid periods in Persia (225-651); Chinese Christianity; Christianity and Islam; and "The Pax Mongolica: From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane." Volume II is in preparation.

MORAL MEDICINE: theological perspectives in medical ethics. Second edition. Edited by Stephen E. Lammers and Allen Verhey. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. xvii, 1004 p. Pap. \$49.00. 0-8028-4249-6.

Stephen Lammers is the Helen H. P. Manson Professor of the English Bible at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania. Allen Verhey is the Evert J. and Hattie E. Blekkink Professor of Religion at Hope College, Holland, Michigan. The first edition of this anthology appeared in 1987. This new edition contains 128 selections related to religion and medicine by a wide range of authors, from Genesis, Rauschenbusch and Barth to leading modern authors such as Gustafson, Ramsey, Cahill, McCormick, and Hauerwas. This second edition contains 67 new selections, including new developments in health care, the care of patients with AIDS, and the importance of nurses to health care.

MORRIS, Leon. *Galatians: Paul's charter of Christian freedom.* Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1996. 191 p. \$16.99. 0-8308-1420-5.

Leon Morris was formerly principal of Ridley College in Melbourne. His introduction discusses the date, authorship, destination, and literary genre of Galatians; the nature of Paul's opponents; and the contribution of Galatians to Christian thought. Then he comments on the text of Galatians, providing his own translation. On the disputed point of the meaning of "works of the law" he sides with Luther, who held that "works" denotes "a righteousness constructed of good works" and not simply the practices of the Jewish law.

MYSTICISM AND SPIRITUALITY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. Edited by William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig.

Rochester, NY: D. S. Brewer, an imprint of Boydell & Brewer, 1997. xi, 260 p. \$63.00. 0-85991-516-6.

These 11 essays treat medieval Latin devotional literature bequeathed to the English mystics, the way Pseudo-Dionysian ideas came to medieval England; meditation and mysticism in *Ancrene Wisse*; the Katherine Group and the Woking Group; Rolle and the "eye of the heart"; contemplation in the works of the *Cloud* author; issues in Julian scholarship; the book of Margery Kempe; Rolle and the Reformers; medieval English mystical lyrics; and the Brigittine Order in England. There are nine illustrations.

NATIVE AMERICAN RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: unforgotten gods. Edited by Jace Weaver. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1998. xiii, 247 p. Pap. \$18.00. 0-57075-181-1.

The 15 contributors to this volume are all Native Americans. Jace Weaver, a Cherokee, is an attorney who teaches American and religious studies at Yale University. The 17 essays, some autobiographical, others more academic, focus on the oppression of Native Americans, their heroism in dealing with their harsh cultural environment, and the religious beliefs which permeate their lives. Topics treated include biblical hermeneutics, the Sun Dance, inculturation, missionary history, native theology, women's liberation praxis, and HIV prevention.

NETANYAHU, B. (Benzion). *Toward the Inquisition: essays on Jewish and Converso history in late medieval Spain.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1997. xi, 267 p. \$32.50. 0-8014-3410-6.

Benzion Netanyahu is emeritus professor of Judaic studies at Cornell University. These seven essays, published over the last two decades, deal with Jewish and Marrano history in Spain from the middle of the 14th to the end of the 15th century. The first three essays deal with movements and groups responsible for the creation of the Inquisition, the religious position of the Conversos in 1480 when the Tribunal of Faith was established, and the birth of the Spanish racist movement. Three essays treat related persons and events, and one evaluates some alleged motives for the establishment of the Inquisition.

NEUSNER, Jacob & Chilton, Bruce D. *God in the world.* Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1997. xvi, 175 p. (Chris-

This just appeared

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

Church and State in Sasanid Persia

Edwin M. Yamauchi, Miami University (Ohio)

Most of us are familiar with the story of the persecution of Christians by the Roman emperors, of the conversion of Constantine in 312, and of the dramatically changed circumstances both for good and evil which then developed.¹ Quite unfamiliar is the fate of Christianity east of the Euphrates River.² Part of the reason for this was that Eusebius, the earliest church historian, identified Christianity with the Roman Empire after the conversion of Constantine. Sebastian Brock observes:

Eusebius' picture of the history of the Christian church as being inextricably interwoven with the history of the Roman empire has proved to have had a pernicious influence on the writing of almost all subsequent ecclesiastical history down to our present day: one has only to glance at the contents of the standard handbooks in every European language to observe the insidious effect that the father of church history has had; the very existence of this by no means insignificant Christian church in Sasanid Iran is only given token recognition at the very most.³

Furthermore, research in the texts of Eastern Christianity requires a working knowledge of Syriac, a dialect of Aramaic.⁴ Until recently we did not have an up-to-date history of Eastern Christianity. This lacuna has now been filled by a highly readable work by Samuel Hugh Mottett, *A History of Christianity in Asia I: Beginnings to 1500*.⁵

¹See R. Clouse, R. Pierard, and E. Yamauchi, *Two Kingdoms: The Church and Culture through the Ages* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1993), 205-13.

²The massive 1,000-page work by W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), as excellent as it is, almost totally ignores developments in the east.

³S. P. Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire: A Case of Divided Loyalties," in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1982), 2.

⁴See E. Yamauchi, "Aramaic," in *The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology*, eds. E. M. Blaklock and R. K. Harrison (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 38-41; E. Yamauchi, "Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic or Syriac?—A Critique of the Claims of G. M. Lamsa," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 131 (1974): 320-31.

⁵See E. Yamauchi, review of S. H. Mottett, *A History of Christianity in Asia I: Beginnings to 1500* (San Francisco: Harper, 1992) in *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994): 617.

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

The Conflict of the Romans and the Persians

After Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire, his generals became heirs of his fragmented realm. Seleucus obtained the lion's share of the territories, acquiring Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Unfortunately the Seleucids tried to govern too large an area by force. Their dynasty was also plagued by internecine violence. About the middle of the third century bc the Seleucid empire was itself divided by uprisings. In 246 bc in the northeast (in the area of modern Afghanistan) the independent kingdom of Bactria was established by the descendants of the Macedonian and Greek garrisons.⁶

More significant was the reign of the Parthians, who were a tribe from south-east of the Caspian Sea, who seized control of Persia about 250 bc and held it for five centuries until ad 224.⁷ The rulers of this empire are also known as the Arsacids after the founder of the dynasty.⁸ The Parthians were outstanding horsemen, who could shoot arrows as skillfully as the earlier Scythians.⁹

About 140 bc the Parthians seized Mesopotamia from the Seleucids and established their capital at Ctesiphon across the Tigris River from Seleucia. The Parthians were noted for their initial adoption of Hellenistic culture. The strength of this Hellenistic culture dissipated over the years, however, as revealed by their coins. We are unfortunately ill informed about their religious views.¹⁰ What we are well informed about is the constant conflict between the Romans and the Parthians, which was to be continued during the fourth through seventh centuries between the Byzantines and the Sasanids.¹¹ Among the worst defeats ever suffered by any Roman army was the debacle experienced by Crassus at Carrhae (ancient Harran) in 53 bc.¹² Casualties were enormous: 20,000 killed and 10,000 captured. Crassus' head was used in the performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* at the Parthian court. Later

⁶See E. Yamauchi, "Bactria," in *The New International Dictionary of Biblical Archaeology*, eds. E. M. Blaklock and R. K. Harrison (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 87-90.

⁷For general accounts, see N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962); M. Colledge, *The Parthians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967).

⁸A. D. H. Bivar, "The Political History of Iran under the Arsacids," in *Cambridge History of Iran* [hereafter *CHI*], III.1, *The Seleucid*, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), ch. 2.

⁹See E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982); E. Yamauchi, "The Scythians: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes," *Biblical Archaeologist* 46 (1983): 90-99.

¹⁰See E. Yamauchi, review of *CHI* III.1-2 in the *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 1055-56.

¹¹An excellent new collection of primary sources translated from Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew, Palmyrene, Middle Persian, and Armenian has been compiled by M. H. Dodgeon and S. N. C. Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars (AD 226-363), A Documentary History* (New York: Routledge, 1991); for extensive bibliographic surveys of the conflicts between the Romans and the Persians, see: J. Wolski, "Iran und Rom," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.9.1 (1979): 195-214; G. Widengren, "Iran, der grosse Gegner Roms," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.9.1 (1979): 219-306. For a general overview see V. Rosivach, "The Romans' View of the Persians," *Classical World* 78 (1984): 1-10.

¹²See Bivar, "The Political History of Iran," 50-55.

Antony was to suffer hardship and defeats in his campaigns, in one of which the Parthians killed 10,000 of his soldiers. In the reign of Augustus peace was signed with Phraates, allowing for the return of the legionary standards and of captives lost at Carrhae.

Armenia, which is a mountainous area in eastern Turkey, served as a buffer state between Rome and Parthia. It was linked naturally with the Parthians, but it bordered the Roman controlled areas of eastern Turkey. A notable event was the visit of the Armenian king to Rome during the reign of Nero.¹³

Peace was broken when during the reign of Trajan (98–117),¹⁴ the Parthian king or shah¹⁵ replaced the Armenian king without consulting the Romans. Trajan penetrated deep into Mesopotamia, setting up a triumphal arch at Dura Europos. He captured Ctesiphon in 116, and even reached the Persian Gulf. His successor, Hadrian (118–38), wisely withdrew the Roman border to the Euphrates River. This initiated a fifty-year period of peace, which may have facilitated trade and the spread of Christianity eastward.

Another victorious Roman general who reached Ctesiphon was Lucius Verus in 164. Thereafter the border was extended eastward to the line of the Jabal Sinjar or the Chaboras (Khabur). Septimius Severus created the new province of Osrhoene c. 197 around the key city of Edessa. The Parthians were able to halt the invasion of his successor, Caracalla (211–17), and after the latter's murder on the road from Edessa to Carrhae, forced his successor, Macrinus, to pay for peace, just before they themselves were overturned by the Sasanids.

The last Parthian king, Artabanus V, was killed in 224 by a rebel, Ardashir (the Parthian version of Artaxerxes), who came from the area of Istakhr near Persepolis. His dynasty was named after one of his ancestors, Sasan. Ardashir's grandfather and father were priests in charge of the fire temple at Istakhr.¹⁶

The Romans faced an even more aggressive Persian foe in the Sasanids. During 231 to 233 the Roman armies advanced into Media, but the Sasanids were victorious in Mesopotamia. In 238–39 the Sasanids under Ardashir overran much of Roman Syria, taking Nisibis and Carrhae. In 240 Shapur I conquered Hatra and registered gains in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Then in 244 Gordian III penetrated to Ctesiphon, before dying under mysterious circumstances. His successor Philip the Arab, whom Eusebius regarded as a Christian,¹⁷ agreed to peace terms

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

which yielded Armenia to the Sasanids. We have an important trilingual inscription of Shapur on the so-called Kaaba of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rostam. Shapur declared: "And Caesar Philip came to sue for peace, and for their lives he paid a ransom of 500,000 denarii and became tributary to us."¹⁸ The king further asserted:

I am the Mazda-worshipping divine Shapur, King of Kings of Aryans (i.e. Iranians) and non-Aryans, of the race of the gods, son of the Mazda-worshipping divine Ardashir, King of Kings of the Aryans, of the race of the gods, grandson of the King Pappak, I am the Lord of the Aryan (i.e. Iranian) nation.¹⁹

The important fort of Dura Europos had been founded on the middle Euphrates by Nicanor about 300 bc. About 140 bc it fell into Parthian hands, but was taken by Trajan's army. It was retaken by the Parthians but was then held by the Romans under Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus. It was finally destroyed by Shapur in 256. This frontier site yielded three important religious buildings, a synagogue, a mithraeum for the followers of the Mithraic mystery religion, and an early church. The church at Dura could have accommodated 65 to 75 persons. As most of the graffiti in the building were Greek rather than Syriac, and since the fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron* found at Dura was in Greek, most of the Christians evidently came from a Hellenistic background.²⁰

The nadir of Roman fortunes was reached with the capture of the Emperor Valerian by Shapur I near Edessa in 260. A relief at Naqsh-e Rostam below the tomb of Darius depicts Philip (244–49) kneeling before Shapur I, while another relief at Bishapur portrays Shapur trampling on the body of Gordian III, receiving the homage of Philip, and clutching the wrist of the wretched Valerian.²¹ Lactantius, who regarded Valerian as a persecutor of Christians, describes in detail Valerian's posthumous ignominy:

Afterward, when he had finished that shameful life under so great dishonour, he was flayed, and his skin, stripped from the flesh, was dyed with vermillion, and placed in the temple of the gods of the barbarians, that the remembrance of a triumph so signal might be perpetuated, and that this spectacle might always be exhibited to our ambassadors, as an admonition to the Romans, that, beholding the spoils of their captive emperor in a Persian temple, they should not place too great confidence in their own strength.²²

Shapur's forces devastated Syria as well as Cilicia and Cappadocia in eastern Anatolia. The Persians deported and resettled thousands of captives, many of them Christians, in Mesopotamia and Persia. It remained for Aurelian to regain some honor for the Romans by his defeat of Zenobia and the capture of Palmyra.

¹³See E. Yamauchi, "The Apocalypse of Adam, Mithraism and Pre-Christian Gnosticism," in *Études Mithraïques*, ed. J. Duchesne-Guillemin (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 555; E. Yamauchi, "The Episode of the Magi," in *Chronos, Kairos, Christos*, eds. J. Vardaman and E. Yamauchi (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989), p. 18–19; E. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [hereafter *PB*] (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990), 509.

¹⁴See F. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); F. Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 100–101.

¹⁵The full title is Shahanshah "king of kings" see *PB*, 89.

¹⁶At this time the fire temple there was not a Zoroastrian temple, but a temple of the goddess Anahita. See J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastrian Religion," *CHI*, III.2, 870.

¹⁷J. Spencer Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times* (London: Longman, 1979), 58–60; I. Shahid, *Rome and the Arabs in the Third Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1980); H. A. Pohlsander, "Philip the Arab and Christianity," *Historia* 29 (1980): 463–73.

¹⁸Dodgeon & Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 44.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 34.

²⁰On Dura, see Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 445–72.

²¹Dodgeon & Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 57. See also J. B. Ward-Perkins, *The Roman West and the Parthian East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 178; R. Ghirshman, *Iran: Parthians and Sassanians* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), 204–205; B. MacDermot, "Roman Emperors in the Sassanian Reliefs," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 76–80.

²²*De Mortibus Persecutorum* 5, cited in Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 58.

In 282–83 the Romans once again penetrated to Ctesiphon only to withdraw after the death of the Emperor Carus. In 296 Narses invaded Roman territories and defeated the armies of Diocletian and his Caesar, Galerius.²³ In the next year, however, Galerius won a victory in Armenia and even captured members of Narses' family, resulting in the concession in 298 to the Romans of land east of the Tigris River.²⁴ This included control of the area around Nisibis.

The conversion of Constantine in 312 to Christianity had consequences for Christians living in the Persian territories, who were now regarded by the Sasanids as a potential fifth column. Warfare persisted through the reigns of Constantius II (337–361) and Shapur II (309–379).

In 363 Julian the Apostate met his end in a campaign against the Sasanians. The campaign is described by the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus, who was a great admirer of Julian and an eyewitness.²⁵ The territories won by Galerius were ceded back to the Persians, including the key city of Nisibis. A peace treaty was signed between the emperor Theodosius I (379–95) and Varahran IV (388–99) in 389, partitioning Armenia between the two powers. There then followed relative peace except for conflicts in 421–22 and 440–42.

When Hormizd IV died in 590, he was succeeded by Chosroes (or Khusro) II. When the latter was faced by a rebellion from an important general, he appealed for help to the Byzantine emperor Maurice, who aided him in regaining the throne. But then Maurice himself was overthrown and killed by a usurper, Phocas. Chosroes reacted by invading Byzantine territories, capturing Edessa in 609 and then Antioch in 611.

The Persians also captured Damascus, then Jerusalem in 614, removing thousands of prisoners and the "True Cross" from the Holy Sepulchre. The Shah presented the latter to his Christian queen, Shirin. The Persians then attacked Egypt in 620 and even made an assault against Constantinople in 626.

Phocas' inability to defend Byzantine territories against the Persians led to his overthrow and replacement by Heraclius in 610. Heraclius initially asked Chosroes for peace. But the latter responded: "I shall not spare you until you have renounced the Crucified one, whom you call God and bow before the Sun."²⁶

Then remarkably Heraclius (610–41) turned the tide and eventually won a decisive victory over the Persians near the ancient city of Nineveh in 627, regaining the True Cross. In 628 he advanced toward the capital, captured Chosroes and had him killed. Heraclius had regained Egypt, Syria, and Palestine from the Persians, and forced the population of these areas to reconvert to Christianity. But by then both sides were fatally weakened and were rendered easy prey for the zealous forces of Islam.

McCullough concludes:

²³Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 125–26.

²⁴Ibid. 126; Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 178.

²⁵See Gary A. Crump, *Ammianus Marcellinus as a Military Historian* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975).

²⁶The sun was not the representation of the supreme God, Ahura Mazda (Ohrmuzd) but of Mithra (Mithr) according to A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1944), 144–45. On Mithra and later Mithraism, see PB, ch. 14.

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

This quarter century of armed conflict, like most of the Byzantine-Persian wars, settled nothing, and in addition left both parties in a state of exhaustion. This situation, bad enough at any time, was disastrous in this instance, for seemingly neither the Byzantines nor the Persians had any inkling of what was going on within Arabia, nor any premonition of the nature of the Arab forces that were about to be unleashed against them.²⁷

The Spread of Christianity East of Antioch

At the day of Pentecost some Jewish pilgrims came from areas controlled by the Persians—"Parthians, Medes and Elamites; residents of Mesopotamia" (Acts 2:9). Though some of these no doubt were converted and returned to their homelands, we have no certain historical evidence of early Christianity in these regions. What we do have are legends.

Eusebius recounts the correspondence of Jesus with Abgar V Ukkama "The Black," the ruler of Edessa (modern Urfa), which led to the sending of Jesus' disciple Addai to cure the king of an ailment.²⁸ This account is supplemented by the Syriac document, *The Teaching of Addai*.²⁹ The Syriac manuscript which preserves this work dates to c. 500 AD.³⁰ Some scholars believe that this legendary account may be based on the conversion of a later king, Abgar VIII. J. Asmussen remarks, "It can only be Abgar VIII the Great (177–212) of the Edessa kings who, probably for political reasons, accepted Christianity and at whose court lived the gnostic Bardaisan."³¹

Unfortunately for those who wish to extract a historical kernel from the *Teaching of Addai* and Eusebius' account of Abgar, Sebastian Brock in a recent critical examination has effectively exposed the weakness of arguments for such a rehabilitation.³² Brock points out that there is no evidence of early Christianity in either the coins or the mosaics from Edessa. He concludes, "In the light of the evidence set out above there seems to be no choice for the historian but to reject Eusebius' account of Thaddaeus' mission to Edessa as a legend without historical basis."³³

Scholars are in disagreement as to the date and route by which Christianity spread east of Antioch. Though one would think that it would be most logical to

²⁷W. Stewart McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982), 46.

²⁸See Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 46–51.

²⁹See G. Howard, trans., *The Teaching of Addai* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981).

³⁰J. B. Segal dates the composition of this work to the early 4th century; W. Witakowski dates it to the end of the 4th century; H. J. W. Drijvers to the 4th or even 5th century; S. Brock to the first decades of the 5th century.

³¹CHI, III.2, 926. This was a view first propounded by F. C. Burkitt in his work, *Early Eastern Christianity* (1904). See also McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 24; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 57–58; R. E. Waterfield, *Christians in Persia* (London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1973), 17.

³²S. Brock, "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity," in *Eusebius, Christianity, and Judaism*, eds. H. W. Attridge and G. Hata (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 212–34.

³³Ibid., 227. According to Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 476, "There is thus no good evidence that the kings of Edessa were ever Christian."

believe that Christianity reached Edessa first and then Nisibis to the east of it, some scholars believe that Christianity reached Nisibis, which had a large Jewish community first, and then Edessa later.³⁴ Edessa, which was founded by Seleucus I Nicator in 302 BC was a key city in the zone between Roman and Persian spheres of influence. Blessed with waters which were reputed to have healing qualities, Edessa was a center of important pagan cults.³⁵ J. B. Segal speculates that Christianity came to Edessa both from Nisibis and from Antioch, the former, more Jewish current leading to Nestorian Christianity, and the latter, more Greek current, leading to Jacobite Christianity.³⁶ Walter Bauer had argued that the earliest Christianity at Edessa was a heterodox variety, a thesis which has come under sharp criticism.³⁷

Many scholars have placed the composition of the Gospel of Thomas at Edessa c. 140.³⁸ M. Desjardins has recently suggested a setting in Antioch. He reminds us:

Similarly, we have no information about the nature and importance of Christianity in Edessa before 140 CE. Not only that, but all indices point to Christianity in that city being either non-existent or merely in an embryonic stage of development throughout the first two centuries CE.³⁹

Abercius, a bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia traveled in the east. According to his epitaph (c. 192), he reports: "And I saw the land of Syria and all its cities—Nisibis I saw when I passed over Euphrates, but everywhere I had brethren." This would indicate that there were Christians in the area of Syria—northern Mesopotamia, including Nisibis, by the end of the second century. It may be significant that he does not explicitly mention Edessa. There is in the Chronicle of Edessa (dating from the mid-sixth century) a clear reference to a church, which was damaged by a flood in 201.

The earliest historical figure from Edessa is the syncretistic author Bardaisan. Later tradition regarded him as a heretic.⁴⁰ Bardaisan, who was born c. 154 at Edessa, adopted a very eclectic form of Christianity. Though he spoke against the

³⁴See "The Syriac Evidence," in E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* [hereafter PCG], rev. ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983).

³⁵See J. B. Segal, *Edessa "The Blessed City"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970); H. J. W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

³⁶J. B. Segal, "When Did Christianity Come to Edessa?" in *Middle East Studies and Libraries*, ed. B. C. Bloomfield (London: Mansell, 1980), 179–91.

³⁷See the criticisms of H. J. W. Drijvers, "Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzeri im ältesten syrischen Christentum," in *Symposium Syriacum*, 1972 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1974), 291–310; T. A. Robinson, *The Bauer Thesis Examined: The Geography of Heresy in the Early Christian Church* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1988); see also E. Yamauchi, "Gnosticism and Early Christianity," in *Hellenization Reconsidered: The Role of Judaism and Gnosticism in Early Christianity*, ed. W. Helleman (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994), 29–61.

³⁸PCG, 89–91.

³⁹"Where Was the Gospel of Thomas Written?" *Toronto Journal of Theology* 8 (1992): 127.

⁴⁰See Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 64–69; H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966); H. J. W. Drijvers, "Bardaisan of Edessa and the Hermetica," *Ex Oriente Lux* 21 (1970): 190–210.

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

Marcionites, he himself was tainted with Valentinian Gnosticism according to Eusebius (E.H. 4.30). One of Bardaisan's disciples wrote an important work, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, which provides us with evidence for the distribution of Christians as far east as Bactria around the year 200.

Church and Shah under the Sasanians

We are ill informed about the church-state relationships under the Parthians. According to McCullough, "There is no reliable source for reconstructing the history of the early Church within Parthia."⁴¹ *The Chronicle of Arbela* purportedly offers a history of Arbela down to the bishopric of Henana (c. 346), but its credibility is questionable.⁴² We are better informed about the Jews in the later Parthian era,⁴³ and know that in the third century Mani (216–76), the founder of Manichaeism was born into the Jewish-Christian community of the Elchasaite toward the end of the Parthian era.⁴⁴ Mani was well received by the first Sasanian king, Shapur, but was later executed by his son, Varahran. The Manichaeans were enormously successful missionaries in the East and also in the West, though they were persecuted in Persia.⁴⁵

The most important change which affected the status of Christians in the Persian Empire when the Sasanids replaced the Parthians, was the Sasanids' adoption of Zoroastrianism as the state religion. According to a sixth-century Syriac source, Msiha-zkha, "Ardashir, the first (Sasanid) King of the Persians . . . issued an edict that Fire Temples be set up in honour of his gods; and that the Sun, the great god of the whole universe, should be honoured with special veneration."⁴⁶

Tansar, the first chief priest under the Sasanians, centralized the cult of the fire temples and encouraged adherence to Zoroastrianism. Mary Boyce believes that the *Letter of Tansar* preserves a genuine tradition about the neglect of Zoroastrianism under the Parthians.⁴⁷ His successor, the powerful mobed, i.e. Zoroastrian

⁴¹McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 97.

⁴²Ibid., 98.

⁴³J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia I: The Parthian Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1969). Volumes II–V in Neusner's series (1966–70) deal with the Jews in the Sasanian Period.

⁴⁴The best treatment is S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985). G. Widengren's *Mani and Manichaeism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965) is no longer reliable. Widengren maintained that Mani had arisen out of the Mandaean. But the Cologne Codex published in 1970 demonstrated that Mani had come out of the Elchasaite. See E. Yamauchi, review of G. Widengren, ed., *Der Mandäismus* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985): 345–46.

⁴⁵On the relationship between the Manichaeans and the Christians, see M. Hutter, "Mani und das Persische Christentum," in *Manichaica Selecta*, eds. A. Van Tongerloo and S. Giversen (Louvain: Manichaean Studies, 1991), 125–35.

⁴⁶Cited by Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 105. On the controversial issue of Zurvanism, a variant form of Zoroastrianism, which flourished under the Sasanids, see PB, 440–42; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955).

⁴⁷M. Boyce, ed., *Zoroastrianism* (Manchester: Manchester University, 1984), 109; cf. M. Boyce, trans., *The Letter of Tansar* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Mondo ed Estremo Oriente, 1968).

priest, Kirdir (Kartir), served during the reigns of the first seven Sasanian kings.⁴⁸ He declared in his inscription: "And I made the Mazda-worshipping religion and its good priests esteemed and honoured in the land."⁴⁹ He persecuted all non-Zoroastrians, including Christians, but especially focused on the Manichaeans. He boasted:

In province after province, place after place the worship of Hormuzd (Lord of Light) and of the gods rose supreme. . . . The doctrines of Ahriman (Lord of Evil) and of the demons were dispersed and utterly destroyed. And Jews, shamans, Brahmans, Nazareans, Christians, Maktaks and Manichaeans (Zandiks) have been annihilated in the Empire.⁵⁰

There is some disagreement about the interpretation of this passage. According to the translation cited by Duchesne-Guillemin, the persecuted groups were: "Jews, Buddhists, Brahmans, Nasoreans (Judeo-Christians?), Christians, Maktaks (Mandaeans, Manicheans?) and Zandiks (Mazdean heretics)."⁵¹ The text reads 1) yhwdy, 2) šmny, 3) blmny, 4) n'sl'y, 5) klyst'd'n, 6) mtkty, and 7) zndvky. H. Bailey comments that four of the names are clearly identifiable: 1) yahūd = Jew, 2) šaman = Buddhist, 3) braman = Brahman, and 5) kristiyān = Christian.⁵² The 4th could be Naṣoray, which was used by the Mandaeans of themselves.⁵³ The 6th name is explained by Bailey to represent the Elchasaites, a Jewish-Christian baptist sect out of which Mani came. The 7th name, Zandiks, were heretics denounced by Zoroastrians.⁵⁴ But according to M. Boyce, the proscribed by Kirdir included: "Jews and Buddhists and Brahmans and Aramaic and Greek-speaking Christians and Baptizers and Manichaeans."⁵⁵ Brock has argued that the word naṣraye designated native Aramaic-speaking Christians, and that *krestyane* designated western Greek-speaking Christians.⁵⁶

Mani, who had enjoyed the favor of the first Sasanid king, was imprisoned

⁴⁸For details of his career and inscriptions, see M. Boyce, *Zoroastrianism: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 109–12.

⁴⁹Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 65; see M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism III: Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 254–55.

⁵⁰Cited by Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 112.

⁵¹CHI, III.2, 882.

⁵²H. Bailey, "Notes on the Religious Sects Mentioned by Kartir (Kardēr), CHI, III.2, 907–8.

⁵³This is the interpretation favored by G. Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian and Early Post-Sasanian Iran," in *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X Secolo d.C.* ed. L. Lanciotti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1984), 3, but with less conviction than he had urged 15 years before. On the Mandaeans, see E. Yamauchi, "The Present Status of Mandaean Studies," JNES 25 (1966): 88–96; E. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970). See also E. Yamauchi, review of R. Macuch, et al., *Zur Sprache und Literatur der Mandäer* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100 (1980): 79–82.

⁵⁴CHI, III.2, 907–8.

⁵⁵Boyce, *Zoroastrianism*, 112.

⁵⁶Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 3. For more detailed studies of the Kirdir inscriptions see: M. Back, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); D. N. MacKenzie, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam* (Berlin: Iranische Denkmaler, 1989); Gignoux, "Middle Persian Inscriptions," CHI, III.2, 1209–11; Gignoux, *Les Quatre Inscriptions du mage Kirdir* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniques, 1991).

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

and crucified. His skin was flayed and stuffed, and then displayed on a gate at Ctesiphon. It is rather ironic that the Manichaeans, who were persecuted in the Persian Empire, were suspected by Diocletian of being Persian agents. Around 302 Diocletian issued a decree against them,⁵⁷ ordering that the Manichaeans' writings be burned, their goods confiscated, and their leaders severely punished.⁵⁸

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity in 312 had important implications for Christians beyond the eastern borders of the Roman Empire. Of great significance was the letter which Constantine wrote to Shapur II, expressing his concern for the well-being of Christians in the Sasanid Empire:

By protecting the Divine faith, I am made a partaker of the light of truth: Guided by the light of truth, I advance in the knowledge of the Divine faith. . . . Imagine, then, with what joy I received information so accordant with my desire, that the finest provinces of Persia are filled with those men on whose behalf alone I am at present speaking, I mean the Christians. For abundant blessing will be to you and to them in equal amounts, for you will find the Lord of the whole world is gentle, merciful and beneficent. And now, because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection; because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your customary humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and us.⁵⁹

Though well meant, Constantine's interference had the unintended effect of making the shah suspect the loyalties of the Christians. Indeed, there were some grounds for these suspicions.

Aphrahat, "The Persian Sage," was a leading Syriac-speaking monk, whose 23 essays written between 337 and 345 during the reign of Shapur I, are an important source of information on the situation of Christians under the Persians.⁶⁰ Later traditions described him as the head of the monastery of Mar Mattai near Mosul on the Tigris River. Of particular interest is his fifth homily "On Wars," (dated c. 337) which used veiled allusions to Daniel 2:39–41 to prophesy the triumph of the Romans over the Persians. He predicted the victory of the fourth beast (= Rome) over the ram (= Persia). Aphrahat declared:

Prosperity has come to the people of God, and success awaits the man through whom the prosperity came (i.e. Constantius). And disaster threatens the forces which have been marshalled by the efforts of an evil and arrogant man full of boasting (i.e. Shapur II) and misery is reserved for him through whom disaster is stored up. Nevertheless, my beloved, do not complain (in public) of the evil one who has stirred up evil upon many because the times were preordained and the time of their fulfilment has come.⁶¹

Aphrahat maintained that Persia was destined to fall because of its pride, whereas the cause of the Romans was the cause of Jesus.⁶²

Speaking of Syrian Christian writers like Aphrahat and Ephrem, Griffith observes:

⁵⁷Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 135–36.

⁵⁸See J. Stevenson, ed., *A New Eusebius* (London: SPCK, 1960), 283.

⁵⁹Letter preserved in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, IV.9–13.

⁶⁰Schaff and H. Wace, eds. *Gregory the Great, Ephraim Syrus, Aphrahat, Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd series, 13 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 352–62.

⁶¹Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 162.

⁶²See Frank Gavin, *Aphraates and the Jews* repr. (1922; New York: AMS Press, 1966), 5.

The fact that Christians in Persia later neglected the Roman theme, and assured the Persian kings of their loyalty, even reaching a certain accommodation with them, in no way militates against the fact that in the fourth century, and even in the Syriac-speaking world, the idea of a Christian church, living in a Christian Roman empire, awaiting the Second Coming of Christ, was an idea whose time had come.⁶³

Many of Aphrahat's other homilies were against the Jews, who were accused of stirring up Persian enmity against the Christians.⁶⁴ But Aphrahat also lamented the worldliness of the church, and even of leading bishops.⁶⁵

Just before he died on May 22, 337, Constantine was preparing for renewed warfare against the Persians. Upon his death, the rule of the Roman Empire was shared by his three sons, Constans, Constantine II, and Constantius II. Shapur, who had less respect for these sons than for their father, began aggressive actions against the Romans and unleashed persecutions against the Christians, which were among the most severe in the history of Christianity. Duchesne-Guillemin observes, "From then on, waging war against Rome and persecuting the Christians were to Iran two facets of one struggle, and persecution took place especially in the north-west provinces and the regions bordering on the Roman empire."⁶⁶ Of this "Great Persecution," Moffett observes:

One estimate is that as many as 190,000 Persian Christians died in the terror.⁶⁷ It was worse than anything suffered in the West under Rome, yet the number of apostasies seemed to be fewer in Persia than in the West, which is a remarkable tribute to the steady courage of Asia's early Christians.⁶⁸

Shapur demanded that Simeon Bar Sabbae, the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon or catholicos, the head of the Church in Persia, collect double the amount of the poll tax from the Christians. Simeon protested, saying, "I am no tax-collector but a shepherd of the Lord's flock." The shah responded, "Simeon wants to make his followers and his people rebel against my kingdom and convert them into servants of Caesar, their coreligionist."⁶⁹ Simeon was martyred in 341 along with about a hundred other Christians, thus inaugurating years of persecution, which raged especially during the years 340-63 and 379/83? -401.⁷⁰

The *Acts of the Martyrs*⁷¹ cites the following royal decree against the Christians:

⁶³Sidney H. Griffith, "Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa, and the Church of the Empire," in *Diakonia*, eds. T. Halton and J. Williman (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1986), 48.

⁶⁴See J. Neusner, *Aphraates and the Jews* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

⁶⁵See W. G. Young, *Putriarch, Shah and Cahph* (Rawalpindi: Christian Study Centre, 1974), 23.

⁶⁶CHI, III.2, 886.

⁶⁷Even the lower figure of 16,000 deaths for the fourth century, estimated by Sozomen, are quite impressive. See McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 118.

⁶⁸Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 145. See also Millar, *The Roman Near East*, 486-87.

⁶⁹Cited by Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 8. See further J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide (224-632)* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1904), 64-65.

⁷⁰Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 119; Waterfield, *Christians in Persia* 19.

⁷¹On the historical criticism of the numerous Syriac "Acts of the Martyrs," see J. Asmussen,

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

The Christians destroy our holy teachings, and teach men to serve one God, and not to burn our sun or fire. They teach them, too, to defile water by their ablutions, to refrain from marriage and the procreation of children; and to refuse to go out to war with the Shah or Shah. They have no scruple about the slaughter and eating of animals; they bury the corpse of men in the earth; and attribute the origin of snakes and creeping things to a good God.⁷² They despise many servants of the King, and teach witchcraft.⁷³

Many Christians thereupon fled north to Nisibis. One of the most important Christians in this key city was Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306-373),⁷⁴ famed as the "Harp of the Spirit," an outstanding Syriac writer who provides us with invaluable contemporary observations about the situation of Christians in the middle of the Byzantine-Persian conflict.⁷⁵ Nisibis had come under Roman control in 298 in the reign of Diocletian. Shapur II attacked the city unsuccessfully in 337-38, 346, and 350. The deliverance of the city on these occasions was attributed by the Christians to the piety of their leaders such as bishop Jacob, and the providential intervention of God. According to Theodoret, at one point Ephrem prayed for mosquitoes and gnats which attacked the Persian elephants and horses!⁷⁶ Ephrem cried out, "How, O my Master, can a desolate city, whose king is far off, and her enemy nigh, stand firm without aid of mercy?"⁷⁷

When Constantius died in 361, Julian "The Apostate" became emperor. Julian had been raised as a Christian, but because of the massacre of many of his relatives by the imperial family, he secretly rejected Christianity and embraced Neo-Platonism and paganism.⁷⁸ His apostasy was not known until his accession. As a foil against the Christians, he sought to aid the Jews in their efforts to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, a project which, however, came to nought.⁷⁹ According to the Christian historian Sozomen, Julian was not inclined to respond to the pleas of Christians at Nisibis for aid.

When the inhabitants of Nisibis sent to implore his aid against the Persians, who were on the point of invading the Roman territories, he refused to assist them because they were wholly Christianized, and would neither reopen their temples nor resort to the sacred places; he

"Christians in Iran," CHI, III.2, 936-37. Brock, "Eusebius and Synac Christianity," 223, dismisses the Acts of Sharbel and the Acts of Bishop Barsamya as fictional, but accepts the Acts of Shmona and Gurya, martyred c. 297, and of Habbib, martyred c. 309. See also G. Wiessner, *Zur Märtyrerverheerung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

⁷²On Zoroastrian beliefs and ethics, see PB, ch. 12; E. Yamauchi, "Religions of the Biblical World: Persia," in *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* ed. G. W. Bromley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), IV:123-29.

⁷³Cited by Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 142.

⁷⁴See Griffith, "Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa," 22-52.

⁷⁵See K. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian* (New York: Paulist, 1989), 12-28.

⁷⁶Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 167, cf. 169.

⁷⁷Schaff and H. Wace, *Gregory the Great*, 172.

⁷⁸On Julian, see: R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1975); G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); P. Athanassiadi, *Julian: An Intellectual Biography* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷⁹See B. Mazar, *The Mountain of the Lord* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 94.

threatened that he would not help them, nor receive their embassy, nor approach to enter the city before he should hear that they had returned to paganism.⁸⁰

Julian was killed by a spear thrust in a battle against the Persians. Inasmuch as he had consulted the livers of animals to foresee the future, Christians judged that he had received a fitting punishment in his own liver.⁸¹ After the death of Julian in 363, his successor, Jovian, surrendered Nisibis to Shapur.

After the fall of Nisibis, Ephrem left the city with other Christians and spent the last decade of his life in Edessa. His prose refutations were directed against the followers of Marcion, Bardesanes, and Mani.⁸² Of particular interest for our purposes are his Hymns Against Julian, and his Hymns on Nisibis. Ephrem attributed the loss of Nisibis to Julian's apostasy.⁸³

As Moffett perceptively observes, the Barbarian invasions of the Huns and the Goths in the West completely absorbed Roman efforts, and afforded peace on the Persian frontier for 56 years from the reign of Shapur III (383-88) to Varahran V (421-40).⁸⁴ This respite allowed the Church in Persia the opportunity to organize itself with the aid of some contacts with the West.

Marutha, bishop of Maiperqat (Martyropolis), who knew Greek and Syriac, played a key role in relations between the western and the eastern church. He was sent as an ambassador by Arcadius (395-408) and Theodosius II (408-50) to Yazdagird I (399-421). Possessed of some medical skills, he was of service to the shah, and gained royal favor for the Christians. For this stance of toleration, the shah, however, was branded an apostate by the Zoroastrian Magians.

Much of the history of the Persian Church is known from the *Synodicon Orientale*, which chronicles the acts of the synods from 410 to 605.⁸⁵ In 410⁸⁶ a key convention of 40 bishops, called the Synod of Isaac or the Synod of Seleucia, met at the capital city, and adopted both the Creed and the Canons of the Council of Nicaea (325).⁸⁷ One important oversight was the lack of a canon stipulating regulations for the election of the catholicos. The bishops agreed to the request from the West that the easterners celebrate the key festival days on the same dates. Yazdagird ratified the decisions of this council and even threatened to punish those who refused to accept them. He furthermore ordered the rebuilding of churches which had been

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

destroyed.⁸⁸ Christians received the status of a recognized minority called in Persian a *melet*, that is, a self-governing religious community.⁸⁹

At the end of Yazdagird's reign⁹⁰ and the beginning of the reign of his successor, Varahran V (421-39), persecution of Christians was instigated by the zeal of a Christian in Khuzistan who burnt a fire temple at Hormizd-Ardeshir and refused to rebuild it. In 422 at the trial of a wealthy Christian, Peroz, who became a Zoroastrian under torture, but then recanted, Mihrshabur, the high priest, advised the shah:

From this moment on, my lord, all the Christians have rebelled against you: they no longer do your will, they despise your orders, they refuse to worship your gods. If the shah would hear me, let him give orders that the Christians convert from their religion, for they hold the same faith as the Romans, and they are in entire agreement together: should a war interpose between the two empires these Christians will turn out to be detectors from our side in any fighting, and through their playing false they will bring down your power.⁹¹

Though the persecution was relatively brief (three or four years), it was extraordinarily cruel, as reported by Theodoret:

It is not easy to describe the new kinds of punishment that the Persians invented to torment the Christians. They flayed the hands of some, and the backs of others. In the case of others again, they stripped the skin of the forehead down to the chin. They tore their bodies with broken reeds, causing them exquisite pain. Having dug great pits, they filled them with rats and mice and then cast the Christians into the pits, first tying their hands and feet so that they could neither chase the animals away or place themselves beyond their reach. The animals themselves having been kept without feed, devoured these Christian confessors in the most cruel way.⁹²

Another sadistic form of torture and execution was called the "nine deaths." It involved the successive cutting off of: 1) the fingers, 2) the toes, 3) the wrists, 4) the ankles, 5) the arms, 6) the knees, 7) the ears, 8) the nose, and finally 9) the head.⁹³

An important western envoy was Acacius, bishop of Amid, who was sent about 420 to the Persian king Yazdagird II by Theodosius II. He participated in a council called by Yahbalaha I. On behalf of the Persians, he negotiated the ransom of 7,000 Persian prisoners. In 424 at a council called by Dadyeshu at Markabta, the synod of six metropolitans and 30 other bishops unilaterally elevated the

⁸⁰*Historia Ecclesiastica* V.3 & VI.1 cited in Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 268.

⁸¹See John M. Lawrence, "Hepatoscopy and Extispicy in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Texts" (Ph.D. diss., Miami University, 1979).

⁸²On Ephrem's polemic against Jews and heretics, see R. A. Darling, "The 'Church from the Nations' in the Exegesis of Ephrem," in *IV Symposium Syriacum 1984*, eds. H. J. W. Drijvers et al. (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987), 111-21.

⁸³*Hymni contra Julianum* II.25-26, cited in Dodgeon and Lieu, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, 203.

⁸⁴Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 151.

⁸⁵These synods met in 410, 486, 544, 554, 576, 585, 598, 605. See S. Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," in *Aksum-Thyateira* (London: Thyateira House, 1985), 126-42.

⁸⁶This was coincidentally the year in which Rome was sacked by the Visigoths.

⁸⁷See Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph*, 28-29.

⁸⁸I. Ortiz de Urbina, "Christen im Perserreich über die Anbetung des Kaisers," in *III Symposium Syriacum 1980* ed. R. Lavenant (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 200-201.

⁸⁹Later called the millet system, which was continued by both the Arabs and the Turks. See Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 12.

⁹⁰The reason for Yazdagird's change in attitude toward the Christians is unknown. Widengren suggests that it was the influence of a zealous official, Mihr-Narse. Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 16-27. See also Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 273.

⁹¹Cited by Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 8.

⁹²Cited by Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 150. For a detailed account of the many ingenious methods of torture and execution devised by the Sasanids, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 308-10.

⁹³Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, 61.

catholicos to the status of a patriarch, thus declaring their independence from the patriarch of Antioch. As the appointments to the highest positions were subject to the shah's approval, the office unfortunately attracted self-serving rather than saintly men.

Persecutions began anew under Yazdgerd II in 446, when many clergy and other Christians were put to death at Karka (modern Kirkuk). The sources claim that over 150,000 perished, which appears to be a totally incredible figure.⁹⁴ One of the judges was so touched by the courage of a Christian woman and her two sons, that he too confessed Christ and was himself crucified.⁹⁵

Complicating the situation of Christians in Persia were the major doctrinal developments which ensued with the condemnation of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus in 431,⁹⁶ and the condemnation of Monophysitism at the Council of Chalcedon in 451.⁹⁷ The Council of Chalcedon affirmed the two natures of Christ, and confirmed the condemnation of Nestorius. Though the Council's formulation has been widely accepted in the West by major divisions of Christendom such as the Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant Churches, it introduced major divisions among Christians in the East. Only a minority in Egypt and Syria accepted the Byzantine position; these were called Melchites (from the word for "king"), as they were loyal to the emperor. The Monophysite view was adopted by the Copts in Egypt, the Ethiopians, and the Armenians. The adherence of many in Syria to the Monophysite cause was to introduce a major rift among Eastern Christians in Mesopotamia-Persia, where the majority position was not the Chalcedonian but the Nestorian one.

This new factionalism is illustrated in the career of Rabbula, who was bishop

⁹⁴McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 126. For the struggle between Zoroastrians and Christians in Armenia during Yazdgerd II's reign, see S. A. Nigosian, *The Zoroastrian Faith* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 37-38. Cf. J. R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

⁹⁵Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, 26, Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 27-28.

⁹⁶G. Driver & L. Hodgson, *Nestorius: The Bazaar of Heracleides* repr. (1925; New York: AMS Press, 1978); C. E. Braaten, "Modern Interpretations of Nestorius," *Church History* 32 (1963): 251-67; K. A. Greer, "The Use of Scripture in the Nestorian Controversy," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 20 (1967): 413-22; L. Abramowski & A. Goodman, *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972); H. E. W. Turner, "Nestorius Reconsidered," *Studia Patristica XIII* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 306-21; Richard Kyle, "Nestorius: The Partial Rehabilitation of a Heretic," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 32 (1989): 73-83.

⁹⁷On Chalcedon, see: R. V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: SPCK, 1953); J. Meyendorff, "Chalcedonians and Monophysites after Chalcedon," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 10 (1964-65): 16-30; K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London: SPCK, 1965); W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Gregorios et al., eds., *Does Chalcedon Divide or Unite?* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1981); F. M. Young, *From Nicaea to Chalcedon* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); I. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon* (Norwich: Canterbury, 1988); G. Hawnlak, "Chalcedon and Orthodox Christology Today," *St. Vladimir's Theology Quarterly* 33 (1989): 127-45; M. Slusser, "The Issues in the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 6 (1990): 63-69.

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

of Edessa from 412 to 435.⁹⁸ He had at first supported Nestorius, but after a visit to Constantinople in 432, he became a fervent opponent of Nestorius. He even burned the writings of Theodore Mopsuestia, the teacher of Nestorius, and thus alienated many of the Christians at Edessa.⁹⁹

But Rabbula was succeeded by Ibas or Hiba (435-57), a fervent Nestorian.¹⁰⁰ Ibas had translated the works of Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius into Syriac. Ibas was deposed from his see by the Robber Council of 449, but was restored at the Council of Chalcedon when he repudiated both Nestorius and Eutyches (an extreme Monophysite). But upon his return to Edessa, the Monophysites demonstrated before the governor shouting:

No one wants an enemy of Christ! No one wants a corrupter of orthodoxy! to exile with the confidant of Nestorius! . . . Go and join your companion Nestonus! An orthodox bishop for the church! No one wants the accuser of upright faith! No one wants the friend of the Jews! No one wants the enemy of God! Rid us of Hiba and deliver the world!¹⁰¹

Barsauma, nicknamed "the wild boar," an extreme partisan of the Nestorians, became bishop of Nisibis. Because of personal ambition and differences of opinions over clerical celibacy, Barsauma was opposed to Babowai, a convert from Zoroastrianism, who was the catholicos.¹⁰²

Babowai wrote a letter to the Roman emperor, Zeno, unwisely referring to the Persian realm as an "accursed kingdom." The letter, however, was intercepted by Barsauma, who handed it over to the shah, Peroz (459-84). Babowai was suspended by his ring finger and left to starve to death. According to his Monophysite critics, Bar-Sauma then advised the shah to use force to compel all Christians to accept the Nestorian faith.¹⁰³ According to the later Monophysite historian, Bar Hebraeus, over 7,700 Monophysites were killed.¹⁰⁴

At the council of Beth Lapat called in 484, Barsauma had the marriage of priests proclaimed as canon law (probably as a concession to Zoroastrianism).¹⁰⁵ Celibacy was repugnant to the Zoroastrians. In times of persecution nuns were offered their lives if they consented to marry. More significantly he had the Persian church repudiate both Monophysitism and Chalcedonianism, and officially affirm Nestorianism. As he explained to Peroz, "unless the confession of Christians in

⁹⁸William Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* repr. (1887; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1966), 47-48.

⁹⁹Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 186-88. On Theodore, see: F. Sullivan, *The Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Rome: Gregorian University Press, 1956); R. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia* (London: Faith Press, 1961); R. A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); A. Voobus, "Regarding the Theological Anthropology of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Church History* 33 (1964): 15-24; D. Zaharopoulos, *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989).

¹⁰⁰Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 49-50.

¹⁰¹Cited by Segal, *Edessa "The Blessed City,"* 94.

¹⁰²W. Wigram, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church* (London: SPCK, 1910), 150-55.

¹⁰³Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, 135; Waterfield, *Christians in Persia*, 27.

¹⁰⁴McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 131.

¹⁰⁵Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 16.

your territory is made different from that in Greek territory, their affection and loyalty towards you will not be firmly fixed."¹⁰⁶

After the death of Ibas the Monophysites were able to have one of their number, Nuna, appointed as bishop of Edessa. But because of the lingering influence of Nestorians there, the Monophysites persuaded the emperor Zeno (474-91) to close the famous School of Edessa. When this occurred in 489, many of the teachers and students crossed over into Persian territory. Narsai, who was the director of the School of Persia, from 451 to 471, had been expelled earlier. The school was essentially reconstituted at Nisibis, now in the Persian realm. Students were forbidden to cross into Byzantine territory. The School of Nisibis was influential in the "Nestorianizing" of the Christians in Persia. By 534 there was but one Monophysite bishop left in Persia.¹⁰⁷

Moffett points out how the Persian Church "lived always under the shadow of political suspicion."¹⁰⁸ Narsai had criticized a military victory of Kavad over Amida, a remark which was reported to the monarch. This could have brought disaster not only to Narsai, but also to the entire Christian community, if Narsai had not been able to produce a poem, in which he had praised the glory of the Persian Empire.¹⁰⁹

An outstanding leader of the Persian Church was Mar Aba, the patriarch (540-52), who spent seven of these years in jail or in exile. A convert from Zoroastrianism, he was always under pressure from the mobeds. He reorganized the church, reinvigorated theological education, revived spirituality, and reestablished communication with the Western Church. At a synod he convened in 544 he affirmed both the tradition of adherence to the Nicene Creed and the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, while recognizing the Council of Chalcedon.

The shah at this period was Chosroes or Khusrō I (531-79), the greatest Persian monarch in a millennium. His favorite wife was a Christian, as was his personal physician. Though he respected Mar Aba, he had to take action against him for his attempts at evangelizing Zoroastrians, which had infuriated the mobeds. The shah advised the patriarch, "Stop receiving converts; admit to communion those married by Magian law (that is, those married to close relatives)¹¹⁰ and allow your people to eat Magian sacrifices." As Mar Aba refused to yield, he was exiled for seven years to Azerbaijan in the northwest. When the Zoroastrians attempted to murder him, Mar Aba returned to the capital, where he was imprisoned. When the shah's Christian son, Anoshaghzad, prematurely sought to seize control upon a false report of his father's death, Mar Aba was accused of conspiring with him. Before he could be executed, Mar Aba was cleared of these charges, but he died soon after in 552.¹¹¹

Chosroes and Justinian signed a treaty in regard to the treatment of Chris-

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

tians in the Persian Empire and of Zoroastrians in Byzantine areas. This even involved an agreement to rebuild fire temples, probably those which had been destroyed in anti-Zoroastrian crusades.¹¹² Furthermore proselytizing was discouraged.¹¹³

Justinian, the great Byzantine emperor (527-65), who first persecuted the Monophysites, whereas his wife Theodora favored them, issued in 543 his condemnation of the "Three Chapters," condemning Theodore, Ibas, and Theodoret of Cyrrus (423-58), all revered authorities among the Nestorians.¹¹⁴ He did this to try to appease the Monophysites, but failed to win their more radical adherents and only succeeded in further alienating the Nestorian Christians in Persia.

The Monophysite cause was advanced by some outstanding individuals. Jacob of Serug (d. 521), "the flute of the holy spirit,"¹¹⁵ was a leading Syriac Monophysite. A prolific writer of poems, odes, and hymns, he managed to avoid theological controversy. Another more vocal Monophysite was Philoxenus, who became bishop of Mabug (= Hierapolis), west of the Euphrates, in 485. He helped to convert much of the area from Nestorianism to Monophysitism. But when Justin I became emperor in 518, he deposed Philoxenus and 54 other Monophysite bishops.¹¹⁶

The outstanding Monophysite figure was Jacob Bardaeus (Ya'aqub al-Bardai'), so-called because of the ragged, horse-cloth which he wore as a disguise as he moved from place to place just ahead of the agents of Justinian. During the years 542 to 578 he traveled vast distances, ordaining 2 patriarchs, 27 bishops, and allegedly 100,000 priests.¹¹⁷ In recognition of his key role, the Monophysites of Syria-Mesopotamia became known as Jacobites.

Christians enjoyed tolerance under Hormizd IV (579-89), who was unfortunately deposed in a palace revolt. As noted earlier, Chosroes II (589-628) began his reign inauspiciously by having to flee from his enemies to the Byzantine emperor Maurice. With the latter's help, he gained back his throne. Among his many wives and concubines his favorite was a Christian, Shirin. His personal physician was the influential Gabriel, a Christian. But when Gabriel divorced his wife and replaced her with two pagan women, he was excommunicated by the bishop of Nisibis. Peeved at the rebuke by this Nestorian prelate, Gabriel cast his considerable influence on the side of the Monophysites. By his treatment, which helped her to conceive a son, Gabriel also converted the queen to this position.¹¹⁸ When

¹¹²See Boyce and Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism* III, 257.

¹¹³In 591 Byzantine and Sasanian officials cooperated in issuing an edict of toleration, forbidding all proselytizing. See N. Garsoian, "Byzantium and the Sasanians," in *CHI*, III 1, 586.

¹¹⁴Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, 216-17. See A. C. Outler, "The Three Chapters' A Comment on the Survival of Antiochene Christology," in *A Tribute to Arthur Voobus* ed. R. H. Fischer (Chicago: Lutheran School of Theology, 1977), 357-64.

¹¹⁵Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 67-69.

¹¹⁶See R. C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenus of Mabbug and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976).

¹¹⁷McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 83; Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 245-46; Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, 241-42.

¹¹⁸Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph*, 74-75.

¹⁰⁶Cited by Brock, "Christians in the Persian Empire," 9.

¹⁰⁷Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 206.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁰⁹Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 17.

¹¹⁰Zoroastrians valued close unions such as with sisters and daughters. See *PB*, 450-51.

¹¹¹See Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, 206-8.

Chosroes overran Syria, he replaced the Chalcedonian bishops with Monophysite ones.

A debate was held before Chosroes between spokesmen for the Monophysites, who were represented by Ahudemme, and the Nestorians, who were represented by George the Monk. The shah was so impressed by the Monophysites that he ordered the Nestorians to leave them alone. Gabriel denounced George as an apostate from Zoroastrianism.¹¹⁹ In 615 George was then executed by being tied to a cross and shot by archers.¹²⁰ Ironically, Ahudemme was also imprisoned and died, because he converted a prince in 573.

A further setback to the eastern church occurred over the election of Gregory as patriarch. When the Christians chose a different Gregory from the Gregory favored by Chosroes, he did not depose the man already elected but refused to allow further elections after Gregory I died in 608. The office was therefore vacant for twenty years.

Though some sources allege that Chosroes II even became a Christian, the fact that he prayed to the martyr St. Sergius indicates no more than that he was very superstitious.¹²¹ When Heraclius invaded Persian territories, Chosroes persecuted Christians, Monophysites and Nestorians alike.¹²² In 628 Chosroes was overthrown through the agency of Shamta, an influential Nestorian at the court, and replaced by Kavad II. Instead of being grateful, Kavad had Shamta crucified before a Nestorian church in the capital.¹²³

During the reign of Queen Boran (629–30), the catholicos Jesuyahb, ventured to Aleppo, where he met Heraclius, and even took communion together with the Byzantine emperor. When he returned home, however, he was criticized by fellow Christians for not having defended Nestorianism before the Byzantines.¹²⁴ The country was thrown into chaos for the next few years, until the reign of the last Sasanian, Yazdagird III (632–51).

To allay the suspicions that Christians in the Persian Empire were potential traitors, many Christians served loyally at the court and also in the army, and the church itself by the mid-sixth century officially supported the shah. Chosroes I was hailed as the second Cyrus, who was preserved by divine grace. The Synod of 576 even decreed:

It is right that in all the churches of this exalted and glorious kingdom that our lord the victorious Chosroes, king of kings, be named in the litanies during the liturgy. No metropolitan or bishop has any authority to waive this canon in any of the churches of his diocese and jurisdiction.¹²⁵

"GOD AND THE SHAH"

Conclusions

Unlike the situation in the west where the Roman Empire first persecuted Christians, but then became identified with Christianity after Constantine, Christians in Persia remained a tolerated though oftentimes severely persecuted minority. We must express admiration for the courage of many who gave their lives as martyrs. As Widengren concludes:

Even so, however, who would refuse his admiration of the Christians of the Nestorian Church who suffered terrible torture and the most horrible methods of execution — and Iran here had very fine old traditions, inherited from the Ancient Near East.¹²⁶

But the freedom to exist was achieved at the price of accepting the shah's role in ratifying the choice of the head of the church. There was no legal freedom to evangelize. Proselytes won from Zoroastrianism were often in danger of death. Young concludes:

The recognition of the Church of the East as a *millat* had two other dangers: communalism and divisiveness. The Church might, on the one hand, be so concerned about its rights and privileges as a community, that it would forget its first duty was to evangelize, and settle down to becoming a permanent, if privileged minority. On the other hand, rival claimants to be Head of the *millat* might try to gain the backing of the State authorities.¹²⁷

The sufferance of Christians under the millet system has been the status and the bane of Christianity in the Middle East to the present.

By the end of the Sasanian Era the Nestorian Church numbered nine metropolitans, and 96 bishops. Despite considerable restrictions and severe persecutions within Persia, the Nestorians became incredibly successful in carrying Christianity into India, Central Asia, and China. It was in 635 that Nestorian missionaries first reached the capital of China, but that is another story.¹²⁸

¹¹⁹Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 28, observes: "Actually, it was legally forbidden to pass from mazdayasnan to Christian religion and conversion was on principle punished with capital punishment."

¹²⁰Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 251.

¹²¹Labourt *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, 220.

¹²²Duchesne-Guillemin, "Zoroastrian Religion," 896.

¹²³Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, 253.

¹²⁴McCullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity*, 163.

¹²⁵Brock, "Christians in the Sasanian Empire," 11.

¹²⁶Widengren, "The Nestorian Church in Sasanian," 29.

¹²⁷Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph*, 35.

¹²⁸See Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia*, chs. 18–21; Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China* (London: SPCK, 1916); Y. Saeki, *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: Academy of Oriental Culture, 1951); F. Holm, *My Nestorian Adventure in China* (London: Hutchinson, 1924); A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925): 297–371; A. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550* (London: SPCK, 1930); A. Moule, *Nestorians in China* (London: The China Society, 1940); L. Outerbridge, *The Lost Churches of China* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1952); D. D. Bundy, "Missiographical Reflections on Nestorian Christianity in China during the Tang Dynasty," in *Religion in the Pacific Era* eds. F. Flinn and T. Hendricks (New York: Paragon House, 1985), 14–30; B. E. Colless, "The Nestorian Province of Samarqand," *Abr Nahrain* 24 (1986): 51–57. See also Edwin Yamauchi, "Adaptation and Assimilation in Asia," *Stulios Theological Journal* 4 (1996): 103–26.

of the relationship. She reinforces the general point that emerges from all the volumes and contributors to this series—"Asia" is a complex place and it is important for Australians, be they business people or bureaucrats, to see beyond the stereotypes.

The remaining chapters highlight other cross-cultural issues in other key bilateral relationships. China merits two chapters: Peter Van Ness examines the experience of Australia's human rights delegation to China in 1991; Edmund Fung and Colin Mackerras explore the attitudes of Chinese student residents in Australia, which has for many of them now become their permanent home. Chung-Sok Suh's examination of the Korean beef trade is interesting, but might have looked more at home in a political-economy collection. Likewise, Richard Chauvel's thorough exploration of Australia's historical relationship with West New Guinea seems rather out of place in a book that is primarily concerned with contemporary relationships in Northeast and Southeast Asia.

Indeed, if there is one major criticism to be made of this volume, it is that the various contributions are a bit too eclectic and somewhat haphazard, and other possibly more important issues might have been considered. Given the activist role of Australian diplomacy in promoting APEC and the intellectual input it has provided to the ASEAN Regional Forum, consideration of these institutions and the potentially contradictory world views they embody might have been useful.

Nevertheless, the material gathered here might prove valuable for teachers seeking to illustrate what can often seem rather abstract issues, or for anyone wishing to gain an insight into the difficulties of conducting complex relationships across cultures.

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→ *A History of Christianity in Asia*, volume 1, *Beginnings to 1500*. By SAMUEL HUGH MOFFETT. Second Revised Edition. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1998. xxvi, 560 pp. \$25.00.

This remarkable synthesis narrates the geographical expansion, institutional development, and ultimate collapse and downfall of the Church of the East. This church was distinct from Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy politically, culturally, and theologically, and was at times a vital Christian presence in Asia. Moffett's textured account provides a rich history which should serve as the standard introductory work to the subject. His projected second volume will concentrate on the other Christianities brought to Asia largely by Europeans and Americans, and together the two will fill an unfortunate lacuna in overviews of Christianity in Asia.

In volume 1, Moffett surveys the Christianity "that grew and spread outside of the Roman Empire in ancient oriental kingdoms east of the Euphrates and stretching along the Old Silk Road from Osroene through Persia to China or along the water routes from the Red Sea around Arabia to India" (p. xiv). The history of this church inevitably entails discussions of conquests and empires. Unlike the churches west of the Euphrates which eventually came to be the official religions of the two halves of the Roman Empire, the Church of the East remained the religion of the minority. More particularly it was a minority religion competing with other vigorous religions, many of which were identified with the nation or state: Zoroastrianism, Islam, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mongol shamanism. Thus, its health depended on the

goodwill, caprice, or political necessities of Parthian, Persian, Islamic, Chinese, and Mongol rulers. Moffett combines crisp narratives of individual bishops, monks, and emperors with broad discussions of political and cultural change in order to make the particular political dynamics of this church clear.

Another strength of this volume lies in its theological discussions. In the fifth century, the Church of the East came to define itself as Nestorian in opposition to the "orthodox" churches of Rome and Constantinople. Even today, the technical distinctions between using *prosopon* (a relatively weak term) and *hypostasis* (a metaphysically stronger concept) to describe the unity of the divine and human natures in Christ are not always clear. (The Nestorians preferred the former; the churches of the west required the latter.) Moffett's presentation of these matters is lucid, and nonspecialists will find the theological discussions accessible. Presentations of other religions competing with or persecuting Christianity are understandably brief, but they are certainly more than adequate.

Moffett divides the book into three parts of unequal length. The first of these occupies about one half of the text and covers primarily the church under the Parthians and Persians (until the middle of the seventh century). A few chapters also attempt to describe what can be said about the earliest Christians in India. The second part, roughly one-fifth of the whole, describes the initial missions of the Church of the East to China and the changing conditions confronting Christians under different Islamic rulers in Persia. The final portion, "The Pax Mongolica: From Genghis Khan to Tamerlane," completes the story of the Nestorian church in Asia. (It also discusses the first Roman Catholic missions to Asia.) Despite the possibilities for growth and expansion under the relatively tolerant Mongols and their continent-wide trade routes, by the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the European expansion across the globe, the Church of the East was all but wiped out.

The possibilities for, as well as the ultimate failure of, this church to survive dominates this book's narrative in large part because it was a dramatic disintegration of a once-vigorous Christianity. (Sadly, another reason for the book's focus on the problem of the church's disintegration is the simple lack of surviving source materials; institutional and doctrinal matters predominate here in part because there are now few records of the social and cultural histories of this church.) Moffett assesses eight factors which circumscribed the Church of the East: "geographical isolation, chronic numerical weakness, persecution, the encounter with formidable Asian religions, ethnic introversion, dependence upon the state, . . . the church's own internal divisions" as well as the "[m]uch debated and often cited . . . eighth factor, the theological" (p. 503). While he recognizes the devastating role of Tamerlane and other persecutors, Moffett argues that the Church of the East was in large part responsible for its own failure. This church, for example, ultimately neglected the importance of missions for the health of a church; missions, after all, presuppose a recognition of something so wonderful and so compelling that it demands to be communicated.

This text is a masterful history and a delight to read. Its synthetic account combined with its rich notes and bibliography make it both an excellent survey text and a good point of departure for subsequent research. Few others have attempted such an ambitious history of Christianity in Asia, and Moffett's second volume should be eagerly expected.

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